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SELECTIONS FROM THE PAPERS OF WILLIAM CLARKE

Secretary to the Council of the Army, 1647-1649, and to General Monck and the Commanders of the Army in Scotland, 1651-1660.

EDITED FOR THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BY

C. H. FIRTH, M.A.

VOLUME IV.

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON
NEW YORK AND BOMBAY
1901

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PREFACE

THE papers printed in this volume are a selection from five volumes of the Clarke MSS. in the library of Worcester College. Of those five volumes, two consist principally of newsletters, with a few other letters and documents interspersed amongst them (vols. xxxi., xxxii., 4to); two others consist chiefly of letters exchanged between General Monck and the civil government or commanders of the army in England (vols. li., lii., folio); while the fifth volume drawn upon is the Order-book of General Monck during 1659–60 (vol. xlix., folio).

A limited number of papers have been added from other sources. As has been pointed out in previous prefaces (ii.) the great collection of papers got together by William Clarke was broken up after his death, and while the most important part of it is in Worcester College Library, some parts are now in other hands, and a portion of it has perished altogether. A considerable number of Clarke's papers are now in the possession of Mr. F. W. Leyborne-Popham, of Littlecote, Wilts, and a few of these were printed by his permission in the second volume of this series of Clarke Papers (ii. 211, 224–239). Since that time Mr. Leyborne-Popham's papers have been admirably calendared by Mrs. S. C. Lomas for the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and her Report was published in 1899. It was, therefore, unnecessary to print any of those papers in this volume, but it is necessary to point out that the documents calendared in that Report supplement those printed here, and that they are especially valuable for the history of the early part of

the year 1660, at which date the Worcester College documents suddenly become very scanty. The numerous references given in the footnotes will suffice to draw attention to the relation which exists between these two parts of the original collection. A certain number of documents, which formerly made part of the Littlecote collection, were purchased in 1884 for the British Museum, and now form volumes 2618–2621 of the Egerton MSS. One letter drawn from this source is printed on p. 268, and a letter from Richard Cromwell to General Monck, dated April 18, 1660, would have been added had it not been previously printed in the 'English Historical Review,' 1887, p. 150.

Another portion of William Clarke's papers unexpectedly came to light in 1898 at the sale of some of the MSS. of Sir Thomas Phillips (Phillips MS. No. 1013). It is now in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh, and twenty-one documents extracted from it, relating to events occurring in Scotland during November and December 1659, are printed in the present volume.

In the Appendix to this volume a few letters are added from the Tanner, Carte, and Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library, which illustrate the events recorded in the documents printed in the body of the volume. It was thought that they would be more useful to students if printed here side by side with other papers relating to the same time than if they were relegated to some future Camden Miscellany.

The period covered by the papers contained in this volume is about a year, extending from the fall of Richard Cromwell to the restoration of Charles II. The fall of Richard practically dates from the dissolution of Parliament forced upon him by the leaders of the Army on April 22, 1659; but for three weeks after that event there was a kind of interregnum, during which the future government of the country was undetermined. During this interregnum power was in the hands of the General Council of Officers, whose vindication of their conduct in enforcing the late dissolution is printed on p. 4. Some of the resolutions of the General

Council are printed on p. 1, but no record exists of their debates on the burning question whether England should be a Protectorate or a Republic. The 'grandees' of the Army, we are told by an anonymous writer who was in the secrets of their councils, wished to maintain a Protector, limiting his powers 'in the nature of a Duke of Venice;' but the inferior officers, who 'kept their council apart at St. James's' and were backed by the Independent churches in general, opposed the design of the officers and demanded the restoration of a republic. As in 1653, there was talk of 'the setting up of a government in nature of an oligarchy of seventy wise good men' (p. 21); but the popular voice was against such an experiment. 'The government,' says a newsletter dated May 3, 'seems now to be naturally falling into a Commonwealth and free state, and the generall cry of the people is for the Longe Parliament to take possession againe, and this appeares to be the sence of the officers of the army now continuing, and all others out of the army that have bin of the Longe Parliament partie' (p. 3).

Accordingly, about May 2, conferences began between representatives of the officers and representatives of the Long Parliament, ending on May 7 with the restoration of that assembly to its old authority (pp. 3, 6, 8). About fifty members met on the day of their return to Westminster, and it was calculated that about eighty more were qualified to take their places again in the House. Summonses were issued to all absent members, bidding them to attend, and it is calculated by Professor Masson that about 120 in all put in an appearance, though the highest number present at a sitting was never more than 76. Specimens of the answers returned to the Speaker's letter of summons are given in the Appendix (pp. 277–279).

The new Government was accepted without opposition. Richard Cromwell signed a formal submission, which was presented to Parliament on May 25. He asked only for the discharge of the debts contracted by himself and his father in the public service,

which amounted to about 30,000*l.*, and then payment was promised but never performed. Nearly a year later, on April 18, 1660, he wrote to Monck, complaining that he had for some time been necessitated 'to retire into hiding-places to avoid arrests for debts contracted upon the public account,' and asked the General in vain to appeal to Parliament on his behalf ('English Historical Review,' 1887, p. 152). Few regretted the fall of the House of Cromwell, but amongst those few was Edward Montagu, the future Earl of Sandwich. At the time he was absent in command of the fleet which had been despatched to the Sound to mediate between the Kings of Denmark and Sweden. The sudden return of the fleet in September 1659 caused some suspicion amongst the Republicans, and the letters exchanged between the Admiral and the late Protector show Montagu's personal fidelity to the fallen ruler (pp. 29, 50, 296).

Henry Cromwell acquiesced in the setting aside of his brother, though he made some attempt to negotiate with the leaders of the Republicans, and though it was feared he would attempt armed resistance. Monck's nephew, Cornet Henry Monck, who held some post in Ireland, is said to have been despatched to Scotland by the Lord-Lieutenant in order to sound the general on the disposition of the troops in that country. All that these papers contain, however, is two brief letters from the Cornet informing Monck of Henry Cromwell's despatch of agents to England and of his subsequent resignation of his office (pp. 11, 23). There is equally little evidence that Monck thought of resisting the action of the English army, though the design of doing so is attributed to him by several contemporary authors (Baker's 'Chronicle,' ed. Phillips, 1670, p. 662; cf. Gumble, 'Life of Monck,' p. 97). It is probable that if Richard had declined to dissolve Parliament at the demand of Fleetwood and his associates, and had called upon Monck to support the civil power against the violence of the army in England, Monck would have supported him, or at least would have attempted to do so. But no such appeal was made, and all that

is clear is that Monck maintained a waiting attitude during this interregnum, and did not publicly declare his acceptance of the revolution till he was officially informed of the restoration of the Long Parliament. His answers to the earlier communications of the Council of Officers are not extant, but by an address dated May 12 he and the army under his command assured Fleetwood of their co-operation in supporting the new Government, and it was accompanied by a similar declaration directed to the Speaker. In a private letter from Monck to the Committee of Safety he congratulated himself that the security of the three nations was committed 'to persons of so eminent worth and integrity,' adding, 'Blessed be God, the army heere is very unanimous, and in as good a temper as I have knowne them' (p. 10).

In the same letter Monck mentioned that 'some emissaries of Charles Stuart's' had 'arrived in Scotland,' and ere long it was generally known that a new Royalist insurrection was about to take place (p. 15). Monck prepared to meet it in Scotland by imposing upon a certain number of noblemen and gentlemen, who had 'given bond for their peaceable living,' the additional obligation of signing an engagement 'not to act or contrive anything for or in the behalf of Charles Stuart,' or to the disturbance of the peace of the Commonwealth. Those who refused this engagement—amongst whom were Lieutenant-General David Leslie, the Earl of Loudoun, Lord Lorne, and many other officers and noblemen—were imprisoned till the danger was past (pp. 25, 41, 56). Thanks to these precautions, no rising took place in Scotland, but in England there were, about the end of July and the first few days of August, many local movements, of which one developed into a serious insurrection. In Kent, Surrey, and Hertfordshire the preliminary gatherings of the Royalists were promptly dispersed and many arrests were made (pp. 29, 31, 286, 290).

In Gloucestershire, where Major-General Massey was designed to head the movement, the vigilance of the local authorities frustrated a plot for the capture of Gloucester; and Massey was

arrested, though he succeeded in escaping from his captors (pp. 33–37, 285).

In Cheshire and Lancashire, where the Presbyterian ministers preached zealously against the Government, Sir George Booth got together several thousand men, and published a vague declaration designed to unite all parties. But the Royalist section of his supporters insisted on proclaiming Charles II., and many who sympathised with the attempt to overthrow the rump of the Long Parliament drew back and refused to take up arms for the King. Booth himself was said to have declared that this proclamation would be their ruin (pp. 32, 33, 38, 40, 287, 289).

Little risings took place in Leicestershire, Derbyshire, and Nottinghamshire, but were suppressed as soon as they came to a head (pp. 44, 45.)

In some places, as at Plymouth, the local authorities showed great reluctance to publish the proclamation issued by Parliament against Booth and his adherents (p. 290). Nevertheless the general movement hung fire, and the numbers of Booth's forces did not increase as fast as had at first seemed probable. According to the estimate of his opponents, he had not more than 2,000 under his command when he was defeated by Major-General Lambert at Northwich on August 19, 1659. Chester surrendered immediately after the battle, and Chirk Castle, the only other place garrisoned by the Royalists, on August 24 (pp. 46, 293, 294).

Sir George Booth himself, disguised as a woman, was taken in an inn at Newport Pagnell. A newsletter gives an amusing description of the manner in which the suspicions of the innkeeper were aroused by 'Mrs. Dorothy' and her companions (p. 47).

Very little light is thrown by these papers on the legislative proceedings of the restored Parliament. Many Bills were introduced, but their progress was slow, because much of the time of the House was occupied with purely political and administrative business, and because of the delay caused by the insurrection. One important measure taken in hand was the re-enactment of the

union with Scotland, for it was held that the incorporating union effected by the Protector's ordinances and by the Instrument of Government was invalid. A Bill for the purpose was introduced on July 27, read a second time on July 30, and considered for many sittings in committee of the whole House. Its progress was delayed by a dispute about the question whether the Independent congregations, recently established in Scotland, and other dissenters from the Established Church of that country, were to be guaranteed toleration in the proposed Act of Union or not. The proviso suggested for the purpose met with bitter opposition (pp. 24, 37, 43, 49, 50).

Another matter which consumed a large part of the time of the House was the remodelling of the army. Parliament was determined to keep the control of the military forces of the nation in its hands; and though Fleetwood was confirmed in the post of commander-in-chief, he was deprived of the power of appointing his officers, which Fairfax and Cromwell had enjoyed. The appointment of officers was entrusted to a committee of seven, of whom Fleetwood was one, and their nominations required the approval of Parliament. Moreover, each commission was signed by the Speaker instead of the commander-in-chief, and, when possible, solemnly delivered to the officer named, by the Speaker in the presence of the House. A number of officers had been deprived of their commissions in May 1659, in consequence of the support they had given to the Protector Richard and their disobedience to the orders of Fleetwood (pp. 1, 2). Lord Fauconberg's regiment of horse was given to Lambert, Richard Cromwell's to Colonel Saunders, that of Ingoldsby to Colonel Rich, and that of Bridge to Colonel Okey. Several other officers suspected of too much attachment to the House of Cromwell were also dismissed and replaced by staunch Republicans. Later still, that is, during the months of June, July, August, and September, the seven commissioners went through the army list and purged it completely of all officers whose political principles or characters seemed to render

them unfit to serve the new power. New commissions were issued to those officers who were retained in the service and to those who were substituted for the officers expelled. The newsletters written from London to the headquarters of the army in Scotland give a full account of this process, with lists of the appointments made in the various regiments considered by the commissioners.

As the papers relating to the subject in the 'Calendar of Domestic State Papers' and the 'Journals of the House of Commons' contain a tolerably complete account of this revision, and supply lists of the officers commissioned, most of the newsletters dealing with the question are omitted here. There are, however, incidental notices of the changes made in several of the letters printed (pp. 16, 19, 25, 29, 33, 39). As the officers removed were 'put out of their commands without hearing, without charge, and without trial,' great discontent was the result (pp. 21, 62). Monck petitioned that no changes might be made in the regiments of the army in Scotland, and if that were refused he begged that at least his own two regiments and that of Colonel Talbot might be left as they were. The House took the request extremely ill, and sent him a very rude answer, while the Commissioners proceeded to put out two captains and four other officers in his regiment of horse, and to make similar changes in the other regiments in Scotland (pp. 16, 18, 39). Monck answered the Parliament very calmly. 'Obedience,' he wrote, 'is my greate principle, and I have alwaise, and ever shall, reverence the Parliament's resolutions in civill things as infallible and sacred.' At the same time he defended his conduct in making these requests. 'Knowing you proceed by information, I tooke myself concerned to represent what was most for your service, as being best acquainted with men's courage and affections' (p. 22).

Privately Monck was so much annoyed and troubled by the displacement of his officers, and by the refusal of the House to listen to his petition, that he seriously thought of resigning. According to Phillips he wrote a letter of resignation, dated September 3,

which was actually delivered to the Speaker; but Clarges, the General's brother-in-law, prevented it from being read in the House, and finally succeeded in persuading him to withdraw it (Baker's 'Chronicle,' ed. 1670, p. 676). This story is to some extent confirmed by Monck's own letters, in one of which he speaks of himself as importuning both the deceased Protector and the Parliament to permit him to retire (pp. 90, 152).

Meanwhile discontent was rapidly increasing in the army. A number of officers representing the various regiments which had served under Lambert in the suppression of Sir George Booth's rising met together at Derby, and drew up a petition to Parliament, setting forth their grievances and their demands. They sent a copy of this petition to Monck, asking him to join in it, but he refused to do so, and prohibited his officers from subscribing it. 'It hath been alwaies against my way,' said he, 'to sign any petitions at all, either to the Parliament or General, from the forces here, and I am still of the same judgment' (p. 59). Parliament sent him at once a hearty letter of thanks, and his action emboldened it in its resistance to the army in England (October 7). The House had ordered the Derby petition to be suppressed (September 23), but a new petition, somewhat similar in character, was presented to it from the army upon October 5. While this was under consideration it learnt that, in spite of prohibitions, the council of officers in London was sending circular letters to the rest of the army in the three nations, soliciting their co-operation and their signatures. On this, the House deprived Lambert and eight other officers implicated of their commissions, and voted that they should henceforth be incapable of any military employment. At the same time it cancelled Fleetwood's commission as commander-in-chief, and vested the command of the army in seven commissioners, viz. Fleetwood, Monck, Ludlow, Overton, Sir Arthur Hesilrige, Colonel Morley, and Colonel Walton (p. 60).

One of Monck's correspondents asserts that the real cause of this breach was not so much the petition and the proceedings

upon it as the previous conduct of the Parliament towards the army, especially 'the grand dissatisfaction that was taken by displaceing of officers without heareing of them or laying anything to theire charge' (p. 62). In a letter from Fleetwood to Monck, written on October 25, Fleetwood set forth what he termed 'a right state of the case' (pp. 63, 71), and about October 15 an official letter, signed by Fleetwood and seven other officers of the English army, had been sent to Monck (p. 69, *note*).

The news of the revolution of October 13 reached Monck, according to Phillips in his continuation of Baker's 'Chronicle,' on October 17 (p. 685). The evidence of this continuation is of great value, because it is based on the papers and the recollections of Thomas Clarges, Monck's brother-in-law. A contemporary letter, however, states that the first notice was received by the General on Tuesday, October 18, and this date is probably correct (Mackinnon, 'Coldstream Guards,' i. 73). For the letters and commissions extracted from Monck's Order-Book and printed on pp. 64–66, and dated October 19, are the first references to the event contained in that collection. Monck's resolution to support the Parliament against the army was announced by the military measures taken on October 19, and by three letters addressed to Fleetwood, Lambert, and the Speaker, dated October 20. These were accompanied by two public declarations issued in the name of the officers under his command (p. 67, *note*).

No one who had carefully observed Monck's earlier career could have doubted that his sympathies would be with the civil power rather than with an attempt to establish military rule. His early life had been spent in the service of the Dutch republic. He speaks of himself as having had his education 'in a commonwealth where soldiers received and observed commands, but gave none' (p. 22). From 1647 to 1649, when the political agitation in the army was at its highest, he had been employed in Ireland, and the example of his comrades in England exerted very little influence over him. With the exception of his brief command at sea and a few months spent in

nursing his broken health, he had been continuously employed, at first in the conquest of Scotland, and afterwards in its government. No man amongst the higher officers of the army had seen so much active service or enjoyed so little leisure for politics. From the first moment, therefore, he condemned the act of violence committed by Lambert and Fleetwood, and urged the restoration of the Parliament.

The dangers of military rule, to the army itself as well as to the nation, were always present to his mind. 'It is much upon my spiritt,' he wrote to Lambert, 'that this poore Commonwealth can never bee happy if the army make itselfe at divided interest from the nation, which must bring us into such a slavery as will not bee long indured' (p. 87). 'What can be the issue of this contempt of authority,' he wrote to a minister, 'but an arbitrary government by the sword, to enslave the contiences, lawes, and estates of the people of these nations to the lust of a few ambitious persons?' (p. 90). 'I am ingaged in conscience and honnour,' he declared to Dr. Owen, 'to see my country freed (as much as in mee lies) from that intollerable slavery of a sword government, and I know England cannot, nay, will not, indure it; and if this army heere had concurred with them in England, wee had all bin exposed to the fury of the three nations, which they would some time or other have executed' (p. 153).

This reasoned hostility to military rule was the fundamental principle on which Monck's policy was based, and he was faithful to it throughout. On the question of the nature of the civil authority to which the obedience of the army must be given, his views gradually altered. At first he demanded simply the restoration of the Rump Parliament sitting from May to October 1659. After he entered England he gradually came to the belief that it was necessary to readmit the members expelled by Pride's Purge, and to restore the Long Parliament as it was in 1648. Finally he adopted the conclusion that it was necessary to call a new Parliament. But this process of development appears to have been due to the pressure of English public opinion, and not the result of any

design formed when he first decided to declare against Lambert and Fleetwood.

Monck's correspondence during the period from October 1659 to January 1660 forms the most important portion of this volume. A certain number of his letters were published at the time in pamphlet form, and these have therefore been omitted here, but references to the collections in which they are to be found are given in the foot-notes. A small collection of these letters was published in 1660 by a republican whose object was to show Monck's treachery by putting on record his protestations of fidelity to the republic (Sept. 29, 1660). In 1714 this was reprinted with additions by John Toland, under the title of 'A Collection of Letters written by his Excellency General George Monk, afterwards Duke of Albemarle, relating to the Restoration of the Royal Family. With an introduction, proving by incontestable evidence that Monk had projected that Restoration in Scotland; against the cavils of those who would rob him of the merit of this action.' London, 1714, 8vo.[1]

Most of these letters and some others are reprinted also in the Parliamentary or Constitutional history of England, in twenty-four volumes published in instalments between 1751 and 1761. This is referred to in the notes as the 'Old Parliamentary History' (cf. vol. xxii. p. 4). Another pamphlet collection of letters, declarations of the army, and similar documents, which has been of great use, is 'A True Narrative of the Proceedings in Parliament, Council of State, General Council of the Army and Committee of Safety, from the 22nd of September until this present time,' London 1659, 4to, published by John Redmayne.

The correspondence of Monck printed here gives a full account of the attempted treaty between Monck and the English officers.

[1] Letter xxix. in Toland's pamphlet is an obvious forgery. It was originally printed in 1660 as 'A Letter from General Monck to King Charles, son of the late King Charles of England; together with King Charles's answer thereunto.' It is reprinted in the *Somers Tracts*, vi. 557, ed. Scott.

It is evident that Monck was justified in the complaint that his commissioners went beyond their instructions in the agreement which they concluded on November 15, 1659 (pp. 97, 109, 116, 119, 126, 133, 144). Many other attempts, official and unofficial, were made to heal the breach between the two sections of the army. Monck and his officers published, about the end of October, a 'Declaration to the Churches of Christ in the Three Nations,' which gave the ministers of the most important Independent congregations in London an opportunity for trying the effect of their intercession. They sent a special mission to Scotland for the purpose, consisting of two ministers and two laymen (pp. 67, 82). Several letters were exchanged between Monck and 'the Ministers of the Congregated Churches' (pp. 81, 89, 184, 212). More interesting, however, are the two which passed between Monck and Dr. John Owen. Owen was vehemently opposed to the reinstatement of the Rump. 'I am satisfied with these two things: first, that without their restauration a free state or commonwealth may be setled, the common enemy defeated, the ministry preserved, reformation carryed on, and all the ends of our ingagements satisfied, if your Lordshipp and those with you concurre in the worke; and secondly, that their reinvestiture cannott be effected without the blood of them whose ruine I am perswaded you seeke not, . . . as also the enslaveing of these nations forever to the will of the major part of that small number' (p. 123). 'I cannot act against my conscience and commission,' answered Monck, 'neither can I see any legall foundation for a free state unles this Parliament sitts downe againe, or some other legally called' (p. 153). The Council of Officers at London proposed to call a new Parliament in the place of that expelled by Lambert, but Monck could not regard this expedient as satisfactory (pp. 212, 213). 'They have no power to summon one,' said he, 'or if they had, it cannot bee expected the members thereof should be permitted either to assemble or sit in freedome' (p. 236).

As the views of the two parties to the quarrel were so

diametrically opposed, Owen's mediation or any other attempt at reconciliation was bound to be fruitless. Each, moreover, distrusted the other. A week after Monck's commissioners had concluded the treaty of November 15, a letter was delivered to the Lord Mayor of London from Monck, urging the city to support him with all its strength in the work of restoring the Parliament, which Fleetwood and the officers regarded as a breach of the truce, or as a sign that the treaty was not seriously intended (pp. 134, 140, 151).[1] Monck answered that the letter was not inconsistent with the attempt to come to an agreement, and that Lambert and the army were enlisting men and reorganising the militia during the negotiations (pp. 141, 142, 174). As soon as it had been agreed to resume the negotiations and to hold a second treaty at Newcastle, a sudden change in the position of affairs in England caused them to be again interrupted. At the beginning of December Portsmouth garrison declared for the Parliament, and three of the seven Commissioners in whom Parliament had vested the control of the army before Lambert expelled it, placed themselves at the head of the movement (pp. 165, 166, 169, 186, 210, 216). On receiving this news Monck and his officers declared that they could not conclude a treaty without the concurrence of these Commissioners, and as Lambert refused to allow Monck's messenger to the Commissioners to pass, negotiations were again broken off (pp. 183, 193, 208, 209, 214, 218, 234).

[1] Monck seems to have sent similar letters to other parts of England, urging in still more explicit terms a rising in arms. 'We have apprehended a person that had two letters from General Monck sewed in his doublet; they were directed to nobody, but the messenger said he was to carry them to ——, where directions were to meet him to whom they should be delivered. The substance of them was to invite them to an insurrection in the West, and to seize upon Exeter as a place to make head in; and tells them that when the greatest part of the army was drawn to oppose him, then London would rise and destroy the rest; so that you may see, here is the second part of Sir George Booth. The letter was written by William Clark, and signed by Monck's own hand: I saw it.' Letter from Colonel John Pearson, dated 'Northallerton, November 1,' quoted in Mackinnon's *History of the Coldstream Guards*, i. 77.

To add to the difficulties of Fleetwood and his party, a serious riot took place in London between the apprentices and the soldiers, and the feeling of the city, always hostile to the army, grew more and more embittered every day. A rising in London seemed imminent. 'Many officers,' said a newsletter, 'when they goe into the Citty dare not weare their swords for feare of affronts. . . . The generallity of the Citty expects daily to bee in eares with the souldjery' (pp. 166, 168, 169, 187). On December 13 Admiral Lawson and the fleet in the Downs declared for the restoration of the Parliament (pp. 211, 217, 274). Almost simultaneously came the defection of the Irish army, which had at first declined to support Monck's action and taken the side of their comrades in England (p. 95). On December 13 a party of officers seized Dublin Castle and made prisoners the three Commissioners for the Government of Ireland, to whom the responsibility of this anti-parliamentary policy was attributed. Within the fortnight following this surprise the whole of Ireland was secured for the service of the Parliament, with the exception of Duncannon Fort (p. 203, *note*; cf. Ludlow's 'Memoirs,' ii. 193–201, ed. 1894). Sir Charles Coote, Lord Broghill, and Sir Hardress Waller, the leaders of this movement, entered into communication with Monck, and promised him support in his intended march into England (pp. 202, 225, 241). These repeated blows obliged the leaders of the English army to give way, and on December 24 the troops in London submitted to the inevitable, and declared their submission to the Parliament (pp. 219, 220). Two days later the House began to sit again at Westminster (pp. 222, 232, 237). Meanwhile Monck was preparing everything for a march into England. He had established his headquarters at Coldstream on December 8 (pp. 179, 274). He had completed the reorganisation of his army, and had thoroughly purged it of all disaffected officers. Attempts to stir up opposition amongst his soldiers on the part of their old comrades serving under Lambert had not been wanting, but they generally remained ineffective (pp. 96, 105, 108, 154, 161, 174, 179). The

rigid censorship which Monck exercised over the post and the press enabled him to detect any schemes to propagate sedition in the ranks of his army and to nip them in the bud (pp. 111, 229, 231). At the same time he had entered into communication with the friends of the Parliament in Northumberland and the Border counties, and secured from them some small addition to his forces and some promises of support (pp. 79, 83, 119, 189, 221).

The question which weighed most upon his mind was how to provide for the tranquillity of Scotland during his absence in England. It was necessary to trust the Scots to a certain extent, but impossible to trust them far. Monck began by writing to the different shires and burghs in Scotland, asking them to send representatives to meet him at Edinburgh on November 15, 'because his lordshippe hath speciall occasion to speake with them about some affaires that concerne the countries at that time.' This summons was sent out on October 27 (pp. 78, 113). They met at the appointed date, the representatives of the shires under the presidency of the Earl of Glencairn, those of the burghs under Sir James Stuart. Monck informed them that he had 'a call from God and his people' to march into England, and requested them in his absence to maintain the peace of their districts and suppress all tumults. In return he promised to obtain an abatement of their taxes from the Parliament. They replied by expressing their willingness to keep the peace, but professed themselves incapable of suppressing tumults. They therefore asked him 'to propose such expedients as his Lordshipp shall think most fitt to enable them for that end,' and wound up by requesting him to appoint guards in the shires towards the Highlands and Borders, in order to prevent robbery (pp. 113–116, 143).

Monck thanked them, and asked them to meet him again on December 12. 'I shall then thincke,' said he, 'of the best way to enable yow to secure the peace of the country.' At the same time he promised to give commissions to persons recommended by them to command guards for the security of the Borders and Highlands

(p. 121). The meeting took place at Berwick on December 13, and an agreement was arrived at by which certain shires were permitted to raise guards and a certain number of noblemen and gentlemen were authorised to wear arms and to be attended by a limited number of armed servants. Monck demanded, however, that the noblemen and gentlemen granted this privilege, and those whom he authorised to put in force his orders for securing the peace of their respective shires, should subscribe an engagement 'to act nothing to the prejudice of the Commonwealth of England, or in favour of Charles Stuart's interests' (p. 191, cf. p. 143). The imposition of this engagement is carefully suppressed in the version of the agreement printed by Phillips in his continuation of Baker's 'Chronicle' (p. 696), no doubt because it militates against the theory that Monck designed from the first to restore the King. Gumble in his Life of Monck also suppresses the fact (p. 124).

The Scots asked to be authorised to place themselves in a posture of defence if the treaty with Lambert failed, and proposed that Monck should furnish them with arms. He refused to grant these requests, answering evasively that he would furnish them with fit means for their defence whenever he apprehended their peace and safety to be in danger (pp. 190, 191). He also wrote to the governor of Stirling (and probably to other governors of garrisons), desiring him to assist the gentlemen of the district in maintaining the peace of the country, but on no account to furnish them with arms (p. 194). The proposal to permit the Scots to arm had been discussed in his council, but almost unanimously rejected as too dangerous (p. 276; cf. Baker, 'Chronicle,' p. 696).

Monck attempted to persuade the Scots to provide him with horses for the baggage of his army (p. 79) and for mounting some of his newly raised cavalry, but apparently without much success (Baker, pp. 696, 697). As he was in great want of money to pay his forces, he called on the shires and burghs to pay in the arrears of their assessments (p. 115). But the story that the representatives of the shires and burghs raised a special assess-

ment for him is a misrepresentation (Baker, p. 689). Monck also obtained some recruits, whose numbers were much swollen by rumour (p. 162). He could not enlist many, for fear of disaffecting his own soldiers, but he filled up the vacancies in his ranks caused by desertion (p. 276; cf. Baker, pp. 696, 697; Price, ed. Maseres, p. 740). It was reported in England that he had put Dumbarton and other important castles into the hands of the Scots; but the truth was that he merely drew out the troops stationed in some of the smaller posts, taking security from the gentlemen to whom the houses belonged for their restoration when they should be demanded (pp. 140, 143). Leith, Ayr, and the other Cromwellian fortresses were sedulously guarded and provisioned for any emergency (pp. 160, 201).

Thanks to these measures, and to the goodwill rather than the active assistance of the Scots, Monck was able to pursue his design without interruption. There were occasional reports of suspicious meetings amongst the Scottish royalists (pp. 200, 206), and there was also some discontent expressed by supporters of the English Government at the confidence Monck was reposing, or seemed to be reposing, in 'malignants' (pp. 205, 223).[1] But no disturbance took place.

The force under Monck's command in October 1659 consisted of ten regiments of foot, three of horse, and four companies of dragoons. Of these he took with him into England six regiments of foot and all the horse, having converted his four companies of dragoons into a fourth regiment of horse under Major-General Morgan (p. 238). After entering England he sent Morgan, with his own regiment of horse and a regiment of foot, back to Scotland, and he left another regiment of foot to garrison York (p. 248). When he reached London he brought with him three regiments of horse and four of foot (p. 247). The van of

[1] Sir Andrew Bruce's letters (pp. 205, 223) are specially noticeable. Monck had recommended him to the Protector on November 23, 1654, to be appointed a judge in lieu of Sir James Hope. 'Hee is,' said Monck, 'a gentleman fit for that imployment and one as really affected to the interest of your Highnesse in this nation as any Scotchmen I know.' *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 214.

Monck's army entered England on January 1, and he followed with the rest of the army on January 2 (p. 238).[1]

There was no opposition to Monck's advance. The forces under Lambert broke up (pp. 237, 239). The brigade of the Irish army which was under Lambert's command declared for the Parliament (pp. 228, 251), and helped Lord Fairfax to secure York (pp. 239, 251). The conduct of Overton, the Governor of Hull, caused some anxiety, but he speedily declared his adhesion to the Parliament and his willingness to co-operate with Monck (pp. 243–247). On his march Monck continued the work of reorganising the army, dismissing officers who had been unfaithful to the Parliament, and replacing them by men he could trust (pp. 248, 252–255, 258). This he did by virtue of a commission as Commander-in-Chief which had been sent him by the late Council of State, dated November 24, 1659, and approved by Parliament on January 26 (pp. 137, 256). On his way to London Monck received numerous addresses from the gentlemen of the counties through which he passed, and his answer to the Devonshire declaration attracted considerable attention, because of its uncompromising opposition to the restoration of monarchy. It was accompanied, however, by two private letters, which, while demanding from the promoters of the declaration 'acquiescence in this Parliament's proceedings,' held out hopes of a satisfactory settlement, and might be construed more favourably. In words, however, they promised nothing but a Conservative republic (pp. 258, 260).

On Monck's proceedings after his arrival in London these papers throw very little light. Two letters written to the Council of State, after that body had sent him to disarm the city, give his

[1] The following table of Monck's marches is compiled from notes in vol. xlix. of the *Clarke MSS.* The headquarters were at Wooller on Jan. 2nd; Whittingham, Jan. 3; Morpeth, Jan. 4; Newcastle, Jan. 5; Durham, Jan. 6; Darlington, Jan. 7; Northallerton, Jan. 9; Topcliffe, Jan. 10; York, Jan. 11; Ferrybridge, Jan. 15; Langold, Jan. 17; Mansfield, Jan. 18; Nottingham, Jan. 19; Leicester, Jan. 23: Harborough, Jan. 24; Northampton, Jan. 25; Stony Stratford, Jan. 26; Dunstable, Jan. 27; St. Albans, Jan. 28. Monck remained several days at St. Albans, moving to Barnet on Feb. 2, and entering London on Friday, Feb. 3 (Price, ed. Maseres, p. 757; cf. Baker, p. 704).

reasons for refusing to return to Whitehall at their summons (pp. 261, 263). Another elucidates his negotiations for the re-admission of the secluded members (p. 264). Several relate to his endeavours to suppress seditious movements amongst the soldiers (pp. 265–268). But for the months which elapsed between Monck's arrival in London and the return of Charles II. the portion of Clarke's papers in the possession of Mr. Leyborne-Popham is more valuable than that in Worcester College Library.

A few miscellaneous papers of biographical interest deserve special notice. The hostility with which Johnston of Warriston was pursued after the Restoration is in part explained by the active share he took in supporting the cause of the army against the Parliament (pp. 80, 100), while the escape of Sir Arthur Hesilrige was due to the assistance he gave Monck in 1659 and 1660, and to an express promise that his life and estates should be safe (pp. 260, 264, 268, 302). Monck's certificate on behalf of Speaker Lenthall is also of interest (p. 272). A paper presented to the King after his restoration throws some light on the manner in which the treachery of Sir Richard Willis was discovered, and on the services of Sir Samuel Moreland to the royal cause (p. 304).

In conclusion, it must be pointed out that most of the papers printed in this, as in the previous volumes of the series, are printed from draughts or copies, and that these copies contain many errors both of omission and commission. Mere slips on the part of the original transcriber have been corrected, and words left out have been inserted between brackets, but in some cases the text was too corrupt for correction. This is especially the case in the lists of proper names, which contain frequent errors due to the transcriber's misreading of the original signatures (pp. 82, 84, 146, 178). In some few instances, where the error was obvious and the right reading certain, these errors were corrected. In most instances, however, it was impossible to do so. I desire to thank Miss D. K. Broster for her assistance in compiling the index to volumes iii. and iv.

C. H. FIRTH.

October 23, 1901.

THE CLARKE PAPERS

Resolutions of the General Council of Officers [1]

1. That itt bee proposed to the Generall Councill of Officers, as necessarie for the preservacion of the peace of these nations, and [the] good old Cause, that the army bee putt forthwith into a condicion of unity and discipline.

2. That in order therunto itt bee proposed, that such as have indeavoured to devide the army, and engage itt in severall parties in opposicion to the orders of the Commander in Cheif, shall bee discharged from their respective commands.

3. That a Court-Martiall bee appointed for the hearing and adjudging the thinges and matters aforemencioned.

4. That itt bee proposed in order to the supplying of such vacancies as are or shall happen, that they bee supplied by the Lord Fleetwood, being Commander in Cheif, till farther orders, and that none bee admitted to commands butt such as are of godly and honest principles, and alwayes faithfull to the good interest in which wee have bin soe longe engaged, and that such faithfull officers as have bin laid aside without just cause may bee first provided for.

5. That one feild officer of each regiment in and about London

[1] *Clarke MSS.* xxxi. 102.

with such others as shall bee appointed, may from time to time attend uppon the Commander in Cheif, to advise uppon such matters as shall bee judged necessary uppon this great emergencie.

6. That every officer bee required to bee diligent in endeavouring to prevent all divisions and disturbances within their respective charges. And in case any shall attempt the same, that they doe forthwith give notice therof to the Commander in Cheif.

7. That some officers bee appointed to signifie by letters or otherwise to the officers of the armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland the late proceedinges of the forces heere, and to invite them to union and concord amongst themselves, and with their brethren of the army heere, in maintenance of the Good old Cause and interest in which wee have joynctlie engaged.

8. That letters bee prepared to bee sent to the officers of the militia forces in the respective citties and counties of England and Wales.

These particulers were resolved on by a Generall Councill of Officers, April 28, 1659.[1]

Newsletters

xxxi. f. 98b. *May* 2.—Thursday last[2] the Councill of officers ordered that love and union bee preserved in the army; that such as have disobeyed the Lord Fleetwood's orders be tryed by a Court Martiall and disbanded; that such as have been displac't by the late Lord

[1] An account of what occurred in the meetings of the officers between the dissolution of April 22 and the Council whose votes are recorded above, is given by Phillips (Baker's *Chronicle*, p. 660, ed. 1670). See also Bourne's letter in *Clarke Papers*, iii. 213; *Thurloe*, vii. 666. The Domestic State Papers contain no information of any value on the period between the dissolution of Richard's Parliament and the restoration of the Long Parliament. Bordeaux's letters to Mazarin, dated May 5 and May 12 (new style), supply more rumours than facts as to transactions in the army. But he is doubtless right in saying that by the beginning of May the recall of the Long Parliament had been determined upon. From that date it was merely a question whether it should be recalled upon terms or unconditionally (Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, i. 379).

[2] April 28.

Protector be restored as opportunity serves; that the Lord Fleetwood shall have power to restore to places till further order;[1] that letters bee written to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Generall Monck, and all the militia forces for a fair corresponding. Yesterday Major Babington was secured for refusing to appeare upon the summons of a Court Martiall.[2] This day some eminent Members of the Long Parliament were consulted with by severall officers (according to order) concerning the calling of the Long Parliament.[3] A letter was agreed upon, and ordered to be sent to every regiment to give them satisfaction in their proceedings.

G. M.

May 3.—The governement seemes now to bee naturally falling into a Commonwealth and free State, and the generall cry of the people is for the Longe Parliament to take possession againe, and this appeares to bee the sence of the officers of the army now continuing, and all others out of the army that have bin of the Longe Parliament partie, and I conceive that may bee the result att last, though as yett nothing is brought forth. Westminster Hall is filled with papers to this purpose; every day new sheetes come out. If those in Scotland and Ireland approve and acquiesce in this turne there will bee noe great feare of danger from the common enemy, though difficulties seemes to bee very great.[4] xxxi. f. 103.

T. M.

[1] For a summary of the changes see Baker's *Chronicle*, continued by Phillips, ed. 1670, p. 659; Ludlow's *Memoirs*, ii. 71, ed. 1894.

[2] Major of Colonel Ingoldsby's regiment; cf. Ludlow's *Memoirs*, ii. 62.

[3] An account of these interviews is given by Ludlow, ii. 74. In assigning to the first of them, in the margin of my edition of Ludlow, the date of April 29, I believe I was in error. It is probable that this interview of May 2 was the first.

[4] A letter from Monck to Thurloe, dated May 3, is printed in the *Thurloe Papers*, vii. 667. It is an answer to one from Thurloe of April 26, informing him of the dissolution. Monck says simply, 'I am very glad that, after so great an alteration, you continue in peace.' He does not appear to have realised as yet that the dissolution meant the fall of the Protectorate.

Letter from the officers in England to General Monck and the officers in Scotland [1]

xxxi. f. 99. Wee shall nott neede att present to enumerate the various dispensations of the providences of God towards us in the management of that great interest of his which hee hath soe signallie owned and carried on through all difficulties and against all opposition in these three nations, and how hee hath made bare his mighty arme and led us on by signes and wonders, affording to us the visible tokens of his presence above our faith, and beyond our hope, imprinting the stampe of his owne presence uppon these transaccions, when wee have beene at the greatest stand, that wee may with admiration and astonishment say, 'this hath God wrought': soe that wee may set upp stones of rememberance, and write uppon them, 'hitherto the Lord hath helped.'

And haveing been deepely sensible of the greate danger the good old Cause, and interest of the people of God was in, in these three nations, not onely for our old common enimy, who were growne to soe great a height of insolency and confidence that they were ready to tryumph, and were in conjunctions in their councills in severall parts in the nation, and especially in and about London, but alsoe from many of those who should have beene the asserters and maintainers of the Cause and interest which is soe deare unto us, who insteade of taking an effectuall course for the greate and pressing necessitye of the army, or comeing to any consistency among themselves for the setling of the nations, nourished jealousies of us, and gave greate advantages of encouragement to our former mentioned enimies, wherby our feares were increased, and our danger made more visible.

Uppon consideration whereof wee thought it a duty incumbent

[1] A letter to Monck from Lieut.-Colonels Mason and Sawrey, dated May 8, is amongst the papers of Mr. Leyborne-Popham. They assure him that 'the army here in England is very unanimous in this late action.' *Report*, p. 116.

uppon us (being in some measure sensible of the greate decayings of that good Spiritt in us, and the backsliding frame of our owne harts), after serious searching of heart and solemne addresses to the Lord, to meet together and advise what was our duty in such a day as to the security of the Cause; and being convinced that it was our duty to appeare for the preservation thereof, wee met in generall councill, which produced a petition and representation to his Highnes, a coppie whereof wee have heere inclosed; which said petition and representation being presented by his Highnes to the Parliament,[1] produced effects much contrary to the hopes and expectacions of the army, for insteade of considering of waies and meanes for applieing remedies to our just desires, it brought forth a vote for a dissolution of our meetings and disperceing of our officers (though nothing was done effectually for the breaking of the councills of the comon enimies by sending away the Cavaleers out of Towne), as alsoe another vote requiring an engagement from us, as though wee were not to bee trusted as friends.

The consideration whereof produced a stable and fixed resolucion in us once againe to put our lives into our hands, and to trust this greate undertaking in the hands of our good God, who wee have formerly trusted, and in whose hands alone are all the issues of councills and actions, wee well knowing these greate concernements of his cause, interest, and people to bee farr dearer to him, then any of ours can bee to us. It was thought fit to randezvouse that part of the army in and neere the citty, whereuppon the Parliament was dissolved.

And in further prosecution of our duty, wee resolved uppon some heads (att a generall councill of officers), in order to the better setling of the discipline and continuing the union of the army (which wee have likewise heere inclosed sent to you), which were

[1] 'The humble Representation and Petition of the General Council of the Officers of the Armies,' forwarded by Richard to Parliament on April 8, 1659. *Old Parliamentary History*, xxi. 389.

unanimously agreed on, wee thinke itt our farther duty earnestly to presse you, that these thinges may bee seriously laid uppon your hearts, and that you will nott bee startled or divided from us by any misrepresentacions that may bee brought unto you, butt that the good old Cause and interest may bee deare unto you, and that both you and wee lie lowe in the sence of our great provocacions, and earnestlie implore the Throne of Grace, that the former presence may returne to you and us, and that as our resolutions are to act in the promoting of the same Cause, soe wee may doe itt with the same spiritt of faith and prayer, which in these our dayes and former ages hath bin soe successefull, and wherin alone our strength lies, our consciences witnessing unto us that wee have noe designe in our hearts, butt the reviving and prosperity of that Good Cause in all itt's essentialls, wherin the interest, liberties, peace and settlement of these 3 nations is naturally founded, wee are

Your affeccionate freinds and fellow souldiers

William Daniell.	Charles Fleetwood.
He: Haynes.	James Berry.
J. Biscoe.	John Okey.
John Miller.	Ro. Sawry.
Francis Hacker.	John Daberon.
Henry Prittie.	Jo: Pearson.
William Gough.	Jer: Camfeild.
Richard Ashfeild.	Jo: Mason.
	Tho: Kelsey.

Wallingford House,
3 May 1659.

Newsletters

xxxi. f. 103. *May* 5.—Yesterday severall officers of the councill att Wallingford House mett with Sir Henry Vane, Mr. Scott, Major Salway, and Sir Arthur Haslerigge, and treated with them con-

cerning severall particulars agreed upon by their councell.[1] This day a Generall Councell mett att Wallingford House, and debated severall particulars agreed upon by the councell of officers to be offered to the consideration of the Longe Parliament when convened, for ascertaineing the religious and civill rights of the people; the settleing upon his Highness 10,000*li.* per annum dureing his life; 10,000*li.* per annum more upon him and his heires for ever; 8000*li.* per annum uppon her Highness Dowager; Somerset House for his and her habitation, and a title to be conferr'd upon him; liberty of conscience to be provided for; an act of indempnitie to passe; maintainance for a pious ministry and schooles of learning; the law to be regulated; the tyme of sitting of the Parliament to be ascertained; a Commonwealth government to be established; and severall of these things are this day agreed upon, and the Generall Councell meet againe to morrow to debate the rest. The Parliament, 'tis said, will meet the next weeke. G. M.

May 5.—There are very many godly men, both ministers and others, who doe account the dissolucion of the Parliament a mercifull as well as an extraordinarie providence of God at the time it was done.[2] The Councell of officers have written letters to Ireland and Scotland, as also to the absent regiments in England, of the grounds and reasons of it, with motives for union against xxxi. f. 104.

[1] For an account of these conferences see Ludlow, ii. 74. According to Phillips the officers had debated 'the election of a Council which should have a negative upon the remnant Parliament, when it should be restored. But after much debate that was thought fitter for the debate of the Parliament than them.' This proposed senate was, according to Ludlow, one of the chief points of difference between the representatives of the officers and those of the Parliament. Ludlow summarises the demands of the army, and they were subsequently embodied in the address presented to the House on May 13, which is dated May 12. It is reprinted in the *Old Parliamentary History*, xxi. 400.

[2] See, for instance, 'An Invitation to the Lord's People throughout the Three Nations, to provoke them to a holy Rejoicing for His late Salvation begun,' printed in the *Public Intelligencer* for May, pp. 9–16.

false representations, their ends being onely for reviveing the prosperity of that good Cause so long contended for, in all its essentialls, wherein the liberty, peace, and settlement of these 3 nations is naturally founded. Also they have prepared a declaration both of their principles as to God, and desire of good thinges to be done in the Commonwealth. They have likewise propounded a noble provision for his Highnesse, all which will be in print shortly. It's not doubted but they will give all (except blinded men) satisfaction. In the accomplishment of which wee shall enjoy the worke and effect of righteousnesse, which is peace, quietnes, and assurance for ever. R. H[ATTER].

xxxi. f. 105. *May* 5.—Through mercy wee are all in peace (after this great change) and the army very unanimous, having as one man resolved uppon a Commonwealth constitucion, and have appointed 8 persens, vizte. Lord Fleetwood, Lord Lambert, Generall Disbrowe, Colonel Sydenham, Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Heslerigge, Lieutenant-General Ludlowe, and Major Salway, to agree uppon a modell, which is to bee debated by the feild officers of the army. E. R.

xxxi. f. 106. *May* 7.—This day, after the inclosed Declaration[1] came out, my Lord Lambert and the feild officers of the army went to the Painted Chamber, where wee found betweene 50 and 60 Members of the old Parliament,[2] and attended the old Speaker and them to the Parliament House, where they being satt awhile resolved to draw uppe a Declaration, and chose their officers, and retired into the Speaker's Chamber, where they had a dinner brought to them, intending afterwards to spend the rest of the day in preparing their worke for the next weeke. There is a very good understanding betweene these Parliament men and the army, they

[1] 'The Declaration of the Officers of the Army of May 6, 1659.' *Old Parliamentary History*, xxi. 367; Baker, p. 661.

[2] 'Their numbers were 50, about 80 more are capable of sitting,' says a newsletter dated May 10. For a list see the *Old Parliamentary History*, xxi. 372.

aiming both att one and the same thinges, and those that are freinds to the Good old Cause are generally satisfied both in citty and country that the late Parliament was dissolved, and the old Parliament restored to sitt againe. Divers Members of the Longe Parliament that are out of Towne are sent for, and will bee heere speedily, soe that heere is great hopes of a good settlement both for religious and civill liberties, and [to see] trading revived againe which is exceedingly decayed. T. F.

The Committee of Safety to General Monck [1]

My Lord, xxxi. f. 100.

Wee being appointed a Committee for Safety by aucthority of Parliament,[2] have thought fitt to signifie the same to you, and to send you the inclosed Declaration, wherby you will perceive the Parliament's intentions to apply themselves to the discharge of their trust for the settlement of these nations, and although wee doe nott doubt of your care and vigilance in the management of affaires there, soe as may bee for the peace, security, and advantage of the Commonwealth, yett wee held itt our duty to the Parliament to recommend the same unto you, who may bee well assured as of our care for the supply of the affaires there under your command, soe of all due respecte unto your self, remayning

Your very loving freinds,

CHARLES FLEETWOOD.
LAMBERT.
H. VANE.
JO: JONES.
RICHARD SALWEY.

Wallingford House,
10 May 1659.

For the right Honorable
the Lord Generall Monck.

[1] Also in *Clarke MSS.* li. 676.
[2] The Committee of Safety was appointed May 7, 1659.

General Monck to the Committee of Safety[1]

xxxi. f. 122. Right Honorable,

I am bound to acknowledge with great thankfulnesse the respectes you have bin pleased to vouchsafe mee soe largely manifested in your late lettre: and as I doe exceedingly rejoice that the management of soe weighty an affaire as the safety of the 3 nations is committed to persons of soe eminent worth and integrity, soe itt shall bee my greatest care and vigilancie to give you all due satisfaccion in the faithfull and diligent discharge of my trust heere. Blessed bee God, the army heere is very unanimous, and in as good a temper as I have knowne them, as their late application both to the Parliament and the Councill of officers att London doth, I hope, sufficiently manifest, and I trust alsoe the inhabitants of this nation will bee kept in good order, though I have already received intelligence that some emissaries of Charles Stuart's are arrived among them. I shall nott bee negligent to my duty to my country in this day of itt's greatest concernement. And I hope the forces heere, together with all the rest committed to your care, will reape great advantage by the seasonable provision you shall make for their supply, wherby they may bee incouraged in their duty, and the publique interest secured, and that this interest may prosper under your faithfull conduct shall bee the prayer of

Your very humble servant,

Dalkeith, G. M.[2]
17 May 1659.

For the right Honorable the Committee for Safety.

[1] Also in *Clarke MSS.* li. 68a.

[2] The army under Monck's command had already signified its adherence to the new Government by two addresses. One, which is directed to the Speaker, is to be found in the *Old Parliamentary History* (xxi. 414), in Whitelocke's *Memorials* (iv. 346), and in the *Public Intelligencer* for May 16–23. It was read in Parliament on May 18, and gave great satisfaction (*Commons Journals*, vii. 658). The other, which was directed to Fleetwood and the General Council

Cornet Monck to General Monck

Sir William Bury, Doctor Jones, and Colonel Lawrence are going for England with some proposalls from my Lord Lieutenant and Councill. xxxi. f. 132b.

H. M.[1]

Dublin,
29 May 1659.

Reasons for not taking the Oath

May 30, 1659.

Tho. St. Nicholas, *Clerk.* xxxi. f. 133.

My Lord President,

Seing I am call'd on by the Councill to give my oath as a Councellour that in this place and station whereunto I am called

of the Army, is printed in Thurloe (vii. 669). According to Phillips, Monck at first thought of resistance; but when he convened some of his officers at Edinburgh to 'sound their temper, he perceived they had been wrought upon; and therefore he judged it most prudent to seem to approve of what had been done. And to that purpose he writ a letter, signed by himself and his officers, to the officers in London, which gave them assurance of his adherence to them (but if Richard had not dissolved his Parliament, Monck had then marched into England in favour of it).' (Baker, p. 662.) According to Bordeaux, Monck in his first answer 'had demanded to be told what the good old cause was, before he explained his intentions; but he has since sent a declaration by express that he would not desert the interest of the army.' (Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, i. 381.) Monck's earlier letters on the subject are missing.

[1] Cornet Henry Monck to his relative the General. According to Phillips, Henry Cromwell at first thought of resistance to the combination which had overthrown his brother, and endeavoured to come to an understanding with Monck. 'He despatched Cornet Monck to Scotland to General Monck (who came thither not till 15 days after the alteration of Government) to inform himself how he and his army stood affected to it, who returned no other answer than a copy of the letters the officers of his army had obliged him to send to Parliament.' (Baker, p. 670.) Richard neglected to keep his brother informed; on April 26 he knew nothing of the dissolution of the Parliament (Thurloe, vii. 665). It seems that he was first officially informed of the late revolution by a letter from Lambert and other officers dated May 10. His answer is missing, but its general sense may be gathered from the letters to Richard Cromwell and Fleetwood on May 23 and 24 relative to the mission of the three persons mentioned above (*ibid.* vii. 674).

by the Parliament,[1] I shall through the grace of God endeavour to mainteyne the Commonwealth as it is now declared by Parliament, and bee faithfull to the trust committed to mee, I desire to knowe if I bee any of those with whome others of the Councill are dissatesfyed, for in that case I would rather withdrawe, for it was not a place I did either desire, intend, seeke nor expect; and being satisfied in that I desire next to knowe the meaning of the oath, and I shall ingeniously tell you my apprehensions annent it. I doe conceive that government is the ordinance of God, and that hee hath left all formes of it as lawfull and free unto the people their choyce of any particular forme, which he calls κτισις ανθρωπου[2] ordinance of man, and bids us submitt to every ordinance of man; and whether formes of goverment be imposed by a strong hand of Providence or be chosen by the people and their rulers or presentatives, as Hushai said, I have freedome to live and act under them, and for the publique interest, till they continue such as are subservient to or consistent with the maine ends of goverment; and when either that some divine hand of providence or the people's choice makes a change, tho' I have not hitherto had freedome to have a hand and to act in the fieri of a change, yet I have freedome to act and serve the same publique interest of God and his people in the facto esse, or under the new forme after the chainge, and if I had not that freedome I would not have come hither but sent my excuse.

Next, I wish the oath were spared, or at least explained, because I feare the prejudice and the preparative of it, seing sundry godly men scruple at promissarie oathes in reference to civill goverment, and are troubled with the multitude of bygone oathes of that kynd, and thinkes they see no precept or example in the word of such as these untill the time of Israel's captivity, though there be mencion of a covenant or agreement between the King and the people; and

[1] Johnston of Warriston was elected by the Parliament a Member of the Council of State, May 16, 1659. This speech is probably by him.

[2] 1 Peter, ii. 13.

experience hath taught us that it is the best men that scruples, and the worst men that swallowes them downe, and that there is more reall security to the State in the principles and interests of good men then in all the ingagements and oathes of others. And if this preparative should descend in refference to all other imployments and trusts, it will close a doore upon many good men and open a doore wide to many bad, as in 1652 the Tender required of men in Scotland did. And that it will seeme incongruous to presse strictly engagements or oathes to the mainteynance of any civill forme which God hath left lawfull, indifferent, and free to his people in such a time as this is, wherein because of different judgments in matters of religion, there is such a lattitude of freedome from being constrayned or restrained unto any divine formes. And further, because some hath a scruple that the fettering any forme of government, and bynding it on the earth with such iron bands, is a lymitting and provoking of the most High to exercise his absolute dominion in putting up and casting downe, and giveing the kingdomes of the earth to whome hee will. Like as some scruples all such oathes, because any forme of government is but a subordinate meane unto the ends of government, and soe is quallified according to one subservencie unto the ends thereof and is mutable when it is inconsistent or destructive thereunto, or when the overpowering hand of our Soveraigne Lord changes the same at his arbitrament, and soe the obligacion to mainteyne any forme should be thus subordinat, quallified, and condicioned, secundum materiam subjectam et naturam rei juratæ. And that in these nations most part of their oathes use to have the first part thereof in referrence to religion which quallified the other clauses. And some of them did expresse their mainteynance of one goverment to be quallified with this, 'in the defence and preservacion of religion.' And seing government is not a bare notion in abstract, but hath its efficacie and requires its mainteynance in concretum with the Governours, who may pervert the forme to the effects contrary to the ends of government, and that this goverment is said to be such for the

preservacion of the good old Cause (the essentialls whereof I thinke to consist in the being for God and godlynesse and godly men according to the word, and in being against Satan and wickednesse and wicked men according to the word, tho' it gits various and particular shapes and denominacions from the parties engaged for or against it, or from the helpes or hinderances of it) soe they thinke all obligacion to mainteyne this government should be with subordinacion to this good old Cause, and with this condicion and quallificacion, to endure till the government is not destructive to the ends thereof, and it is not changed either by God's strong hand on the people and the rulers also.

And that any absolute oath to mainteyne any forme of government in another sence is to turne what is subordinate to be the maine, and what is the meane to be the end, what is condicionall to be absolute, and what is mutable to be immutable, and so to change the nature of things, whereas wee should be absolute for God, and but condicionall under him for any, in soe farr as they are for God, and under him, and not against him, and soe in all relacions, to marry in the Lord, to obey parents in the Lord, to mainteyne Governors in the Lord—now which of these two is the sence of this your oath I desire to knowe, and whether you take it in an absolute or a quallified sence, for I have freedome to take it in the one sence, and not in the other. And I request you not to make any person's respect or affection to this or that forme of government, wherein good men may have different judgments, but their respect and affection to the maine cause of being for God, godlynesse, and good men, the characteristick marke of those you will intrust and imploy; and remember your security lyes more in the quallificacions of persons then in formes, and that the way of the ruine of the Cause by unquallified instruments shewes what must be the way of your remedy under God. Contraria contrariis. And godlynesse hes such a heed of purging in itt that ungodly men thinkes their standing depend upon the suppressing of it. And wee finde the counsells of the flesh and spirit with in our

bosome cannot agree, as little will the spirit in the one and the flesh in the other agree, being in counsells without us; wee would be sure of them we would trust our life to, much more would we be sure of these wee should trust God's cause unto. Pardon my troubling you thus long; I doe it for cleering others and myselfe, seing I conceive from the practises of this[1] nation in these many late changes, that you doe not intend to obleige your selfe to mainteyne this forme or any other longer then it is consistent with the Cause, and continued by the legislative power of the nation, and by the hand of God's sovereigne dominion and providence, in which sence I am willing to take it, in submission to every ordinance of man, and subjeccion to every ordinance of God, and in subservience to the true good old Cause before expressed, and in refference to the present station and place whereunto I am called by the Parliament.

And soe after the President and the Counsell did declare it, that they tooke in the same sence and required it in noe other sence from mee, and told sundrie changes of goverment made by God's overruling hand recorded in Scripture, then I did take it.

The Council of State to General Monck

Sir, Ii. f. 68b.

The Councell haveing received information from severall hands, that divers dangerous persons of Charles Stuart's party are contriveing to rayse new warres within this Commonwealth, and to that end have of late bought great quantities of armes, and disposed them into such hands as may best serve those ends, and haveing had the same under consideration, it is held fit to put the forces of this Commonwealth into such a posture as may best oppose all designes of that kind, and in prosecution thereof have appointed the Lord Fleetwood to order one regiment of foot to march into the north parts of England with all possible speed,[2]

[1] Seems to show that the author was not an Englishman.

[2] Monck sent Ashfield's regiment of foot into England in reply.

wherewith wee thought fit to acquaint you, and likewise to desire you to use all possible care to watch the carriage and motions of Malignants in Scotland, concludeing that at this juncture a correspondence is had betwixt them for effecting their designes. The Lord Fleetwood has acquainted us with the present good posture of the forces in Scotland, and likewise of their satisfaccion in the late dispensation of providence in reference to the Parliament's returne to the discharge of their trust, in which wee cannot but take notice of your and their good affections, and shall assure you that all possible care shall be taken for the supply of your present necessities.

Signed in the name and by order of the
Councell of State appointed by authority of Parliament,
JAMES HARRINGTON, President.

Whitehall,
May 1659.

For his Excellencie Generall George Monck, Commander-in-Cheife of the forces in Scotland.

General Monck to the Speaker[1]

Right Honorable,

Understanding the Parliament are now setling the officers in England, Scotland, and Ireland, I make bold to offer this my humble request to the Honorable House of Parliament (which I shall intreate you to acquaint the House withall), that they will bee pleased nott to alter any of the officers heere, being they were soe free and forward for the returning of this Parliament to their former station, and for the setling of the governement of this Commonwealth without a single person or House of Lords. I doe nott know one commission officer of these forces butt was very free to itt, and I am soe confident of their faithfulnesse to the present governement that I shall engage for their fidelity to itt against all opposers; butt in case the House shall nott thinke fitt to grant my request for all the regimentes heere, I shall make itt

[1] From Tanner MS. li. 72, inserted to complete the correspondence.

my earnest desire that for my owne two regimentes and Col. Talbott's, being the regimentes that have layne neerest mee, and the officers more particulerly knowne to mee then the rest, that there may bee noe change in these three regimentes, which favour if the Honorable House please to grant mee they shall ever oblige mee to bee their faithfull servant whilest I live: soe desiring the Almighty God to direct you in all your councills, and to bee with you in all your undertakings, which shall bee the daily prayer of him who is,

Right Honorable,
Your Honour's most humble and faithfull servant,
GEORGE MONCK.

[Dal]keith 2d June, 1659.

Read June 9, 1659.

Newsletters

June 9.—Yesterday Colonel Hacker's regiment accepted of the Commissions from the Parliament.[1] In the evening of Tuesday severall, att a Councell of feild officers att Majour-Generall Disbrowe's house, declared their dissatisfactions in receiving commissions from them, so as many feares and jealousies arose theirupon; and the rather because the Lord Fleetwood went not yesterday to the House to receive his commission, though sent for by them to that purpose, his Lordshipp desireing to be excused in that it was a day sett a part by himselfe and others to seeke the Lord. But, to cleare up all, his Lordshipp went this day to the Parliament, and accepted of his commission from them, so did Lieutenant-Generall Ludlow, and most of his officers, and it's hop't the rest of the officers will doe so likwise. Vice-Admirall Lawson yesterday received his commission from the House also, and some Captains of xxxi. f. 140b.

[1] See Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 90. The form of the commission given to colonels is printed in *Commons' Journals*, vii. 674.

shipps that are to serve under him. A letter from the Lord Generall Monck was this day read in favour of the Scotch officers.[1]

G. M.

xxxi. f. 141. *June* 9.—This day the Lord Fleetwood received his commission (an act of Parliament), wherby they have made him Lieutenant-Generall and Commander-in-Cheif of the land forces in England and Scotland. The Speaker told him they thought fitt and were pleased to putt him into a great trust, and desired him to have a care of the Commonwealth, or words to that effect, and soe hee receiving itt att the table (or Barre) hee returned to his place (or seate) in the House.[2] This is generally satisfactory, butt hardly soe universallie, for some officers, and they some of them are of our cheif, could have wished itt had bin taken on another account, that hee might have bin setled att a greater certainty, and have comissioned officers himself; butt such a thinge, though desired and much by some wished for, butt [was] nott sought, and soe nott granted.

[1] The letter referred to is that printed on the previous page from a copy amongst the Tanner MSS. (li. 72). The House took Monck's intervention on behalf of the officers under his command extremely ill, and ordered Sir Arthur Haslerig to prepare an answer to be signed by the Speaker. The answer, which was approved on June 10, ran as follows: 'Your letter was read in Parliament. It is true the Parliament have under their consideration the officers of the armies; it being of high concernment for the settlement of the nations to trust such as they are assured will be truly and really faithful to the Parliament and Commonwealth. There hath been, in these late changes, great discoveries of men; and peradventure such things are known to the Parliament that are not to yourself. The Parliament hath commanded me to acquaint you that they look upon yourself as their faithful servant, and shall not forget your fidelity' (*Commons' Journals*, vii. 677, 680). According to Phillips, 'Pearson and Mason, two Anabaptist lieutenant-colonels under General Monck,' were the persons upon whose information the Commissioners for the Nomination of Officers principally acted. Phillips, after mentioning Monck's letter, goes on to say that, 'to give him some satisfaction, they sent him back word, they would be very careful in the placing or displacing of his officers, and that in his own regiments of horse and foot there should be no alteration till such time as he were consulted in it.' Baker, p. 670; cf. Gumble, p. 101.

[2] *Commons' Journals*, vii. 677. The Act commissioning Fleetwood is printed at length in Thurloe (vii. 679).

They will as much as is possible bee carefull to keepe the power in their owne hands, and yett say they love, and make use of us,[1] as the best instruments they can have to preserve them and the nations in peace. T. S.

June 11, 1659.—Yesterday the House ordered that Colonel Fitch bee appointed Lieutenant of the Tower of London, and that the Councill of State do prepare him a commission. They voted that the sentence against Colonel Alured was and is unjust, and that it be vacated and cancelled, and that it be referr'd to the Commissioners for officers to take care that he have a regiment of horse.[2] They likewise voted that Colonel Rich should have his owne late regiment, and Colonel Okey Colonel Bridge's, and referr'd it to the Commissioners of the army to nominate Major Generall Overton to such a preferment in the army as becomes his merit (which is thought will be Major Generall of foot in Ireland). The officers of Ireland (here) have sign'd a peticion that Lieutenant Generall Ludlow may comand in cheife the forces in Ireland. Colonel Berry and many of his officers this day received their commissions, and so did the Lord Lambert commissions for two regiments, and also so many of his officers as were in Towne. Major Campfeild received a commission for Lieutenant Colonel to the Lord Lambert's regiment of foot, and that Lieutenant Colonel hath accepted of a Captain's commission in the same regiment.[3] Colonel Thomlinson was ordered one of the commissioners for xxxi. f. 142.

[1] The Army, of which the writer was evidently a member.

[2] See *Commons' Journals*, vii. 678; and also *The Case of Colonel Matthew Alured*, 1659, 4to. Alured, finally, was appointed colonel of the regiment of horse lately commanded by Colonel Whalley. See Ludlow's *Memoirs*, ii. 95, note, ed. 1894.

[3] The officer referred to was Richard Elton. On June 9 the House voted that the Committee of Safety should enquire whether Lieutenant-Colonel Elton 'be a person within the qualifications declared by Parliament.' Apparently he was, for on June 11 he received a commission as captain in place of William Brockett (*Commons' Journals*, vii. 677, 681). The reason for his degradation from the rank of lieutenant-colonel to captain was probably the desire to replace some officers

Ireland and Mr. Miles Corbet another, for 3 monthes, and after that time to come and give an account of the affaires of that nation. A list of the officers of the regiments of Colonel Hewson, Colonel Sydenham's, and Colonel Biscoe's were this day reported, and ordered to be considered Monday next. G. M.

Account of the Fall of the Protector Richard [1]

xxxi. f. 144. *June* 14, 1659.—As soone as the army had obtayned his last Highnesse' consent that noe officer should bee putt out of his command butt by a councill of warre, they then fell uppon matter of agitation, a Parliament sitting, which in few dayes after produced a representacion from the army to his Highnesse subscribed by many that never read itt and others that [cypher]. Itt was communicated to the Parliament, and did hold forth to the world [cypher] phrase practically knowne in the army by pulling of members formally out, soe that from that time the Parliament concluded the army will bee att the old trade againe.[2] Butt to wipe the shame off themselves they pressed one night till 3 of the clock in the morning soe hard uppon the Protector, that att last hee was constrayned to signe a commission to dissolve the Parliament, much against his minde, for that hee as well as the nation knew they were a Parliament of as gallant spiritts to preserve the rights, liberties, and properties of the people, as ever satt in Parliament; yett the House of Commons, hearing the commission was come to dissolve them, and troopes of horse brought before both Houses, which they looked uppon as a force uppon them, as had bin that night before uppon the Protector, and being exceedingly

who had lost their places under the late Government. Elton was the author of the *Complete Body of the Art Military*, published in 1650, one of the most popular drill-books of the period.

[1] This letter, which is unsigned, was probably sent some time after the incidents it records.

[2] In the Army's petition they speak of 'plucking the wicked out of their places.'—*Old Parliamentary History*, xxi. 338.

dissatisfied with some grand Lords of the other House, members of the army, who procured that commission to dissolve the Parliament, they did scorne to owne their Lordshippe, though sent for, butt in a great fury adjourned till Munday following; on which day the Commons came againe, butt a company of red-coates [cypher] were placed att the Parliament doore, and would nott lett the Members goe in, and now the word was given through the army by the grandees of the army beforemencioned, that they should stand to the Good old Cause, and the good Peticion and Advice, which had setled 1,500,000*li.* per annum to maintaine the army, and to limitt a single person in nature of a Duke of Venice. Butt these army Grandees who had thus forced the Protector and dissolved a gallant Parliament were trapanned, and that deservedly, by the inferiour officers of the army, who kept their councill apart att S. James's,[1] with whom the Churches did att that time confederate, and soe cryed downe the designe of those Grandees, and cryed uppe the setting up of a governement in nature of an oligarchy of 70 wise good men, which was backed by Colonel Titchborne (now nott soe famous as then), and from divers of the congregated Churches; butt the cry was great against itt, as a thinge the people of England would nott bee bound by, soe att last the Churches were wrought over [cypher] to restore the Longe Parliament, which tooke effect, and they mett accordingly [cypher] 2,400,000*li.* [cypher]. Desperate bookes and other thinges are writt and published [cypher] who have stated another Good old Cause as hee calls it [cypher], and these thinges are suffered to goe abroad without question. Itt is nott fitt for a private pen to reprove a Parliament, otherwise one might with submission say, they suffer by such permission [cypher]. About 160 officers, Colonells, Lieutenant Colonells, Majors, Captains, Lieutenants, Cornetts, Ensignes, and Quartermasters are putt out of their commands without hearing, without charge, without tryall [cypher]. The Parliament have setled commissioners for the management of the

[1] See *Clarke Papers*, iii. 288, and Baker's *Chronicle*, p. 659.

businesse of the navy [cypher]. Noe newes from Ireland, butt that commissioners are going thither to command that nation, and a lettre is to bee sent on purpose for the Lord Harry to come over [cypher]. Wee take itt for granted that the peace is concluded betweene Spaine and France [cypher].[1]

14 June 1659,
London.

General Monck to the Speaker

li. f. 71. Right Honourable,

I thought itt my duty to lett your Honour know of my receipt of yours of the 10th instant, and to acknowledge my thankes to the Parliament for that greate esteeme they are pleased to putt upon and trust they repose in mee, which I looke uppon as the greatest reward for my poore services, soe the best incurragement, and I assure you that I shall not think my life too deere to hazard for theire service. I hope I was not misunderstood in my desire, as if I should endeavoure to protect persons that were either scandalouse or disaffected, the discipline of the army haveing been soe seeverely exercised in this country since my resideing heere, and my conscience is a witnes to and of my integrity (whatsoever men may judge) that I am none of those that seeke great things, haveing had my education in a Comonwealth where souldiours received and observed comands, but gave none.[2] Obedience is my greate principle, and I have alwaise, and ever shall, reverence the Parliament's resolutions in civill things as infallible and sacred; but knowing you proceed by information I tooke my selfe concerned to represent what was most for your service, as being best acquainted with men's courrage and affeccions, which I did, and doe beleeve may bee as credible as from private hands, who may act their owne passions under pretence of publicque safety; and I beseech you to beleeve in whatsoever station God shall place mee, all my

[1] The passages described as in 'cypher' should rather be described as in orthand of some kind.

[2] Holland.

endeavours shall center in the Comonwealth's peace, which I have been alwaies tender off, and that I have noe greater ambition under heaven then to see England truly free, religion gloriouse, and all complaints in our streets silenced. God bless and direct your councills to these ends. I have noe further, but to intreate your assistance to those desires you formerly received from

Your Lordshippe's most humble and faithfull servant,

GEORGE MONCK.[1]

Dalkeith,
18th June, 1659.

Cornet Monck to General Monck

On Munday last my Lord Lieutenant was ship't, with such ceremony and respect as is usuall to persons of his quality uppon such occasions, wherin the Commissioners of Parliament, officers martiall and civill, and citizens appeared, the great guns played their parte, and the university condoled the departure of their Chancellour in an excellent speech pronounced by their Orator; which is all that is observable uppon his Lordshipp's exit.[2] xxxi. f. 161.

H. M[ONCK].

Dublin, 29 June,
1659.

Newsletters

July 15.—These 3 last dayes have bin spent in debate for the whole nation. The Militia of Westminster sent a ticket to the widow of the late Generall Cromwell for 2 horses, and to her sonne Claypoole for 2 more, but upon further debate they have waved xxxi. f. 170.

[1] This letter is also amongst the Tanner MSS. (li. 88).

[2] Parliament summoned Henry Cromwell to England by vote of June 7, resolving that the government of Ireland should be entrusted to five commissioners (*Commons' Journals*, vii. 674). His letter of resignation, addressed to the Speaker, is dated June 15, and is printed, together with two letters to Fleetwood, in the *Thurloe Papers* (vii. 683–5). *Mercurius Politicus* for June 23–30 contains the address of the Irish Army, and also a letter of Henry Cromwell's, dated June 22, on the surrender of his authority to the commissioners appointed by Parliament. It deserves reprinting.

the same. Colonel Mitchell is voted by the commissioners for nominacion to have Colonel Fitches late regiment, and Colonel Smyth, late Governor of Hull, to have a regiment to be made up of 10 loose companies in England. Colonel Gibbons is voted to have his owne regiment. Captain Whalley haveing delivered up his comission, Lieutenant Verney Bourchier is to command his troope. Colonel Twisleton's regiment is passed with little alteration.

G. M.

xxxi. f. 171. *London*, 18 *July*, 1659.—The matter of the union seemes now to bee in a way to receive an issue; itt is hoped itt will passe speedily.[1] My Lord Ambassadour Lockhart hath bin most solemnlie received att the Court of France, as Extraordinary Ambassadour from this Commonwealth, with all shewes of honour and good acceptance.[2] Itt is thought when the union is setled commissioners will bee speedily sent downe for setling the Courts and other affaires in Scotland.[3]

J. S.

xxxi. f. 174. 22 *July* 1659.—Major Harlowe haveing reported that there was a designe in the Lord Fleetwood, Lord Lambert, and other cheife officers of the army speedily to dissolve this Parliament, the Councell examined him thereupon, who confessed that hee had it from Mr. Philip Howard, who with the Major were taken into custody. Yesterday the Major was called for into the House, and confest the report, but that he had it from the said Mr. Howard.[4] The Speaker asked him whether he had not lately seen Colonel Massy; he answered that he met him at a place accidentally in London about 6 or 8 monthes agoe, and immediately acquainted severall grand officers of the army therewith. Upon further debate hereof

[1] See note on p. 49.

[2] On Lockhart's mission see Clarendon, *State Papers*, iii. 538, 540, 544, 549; Thurloe, vii. 765.

[3] See *Commons' Journals*, vii. 791-2, and *Scotland and the Protectorate*, pp. 385-392.

[4] See *Commons' Journals*, vii. 723-725; Clarendon, *State Papers*, iii. 46, 581.

this day the House voted that the Councell of State should take security of Major Harlowe and Mr. Philip Howard for their appeareance when required, and declared the said reports be published by the said Major to be false and scandalous, and he to be discharged from all commissions of the peace, Militia, and other commissions. From Fryday last to this day the committee for nominacion of officers did not meet, onely 4 of them as a preparatory or sub committee, and they privately ordered that Lieutenant Colonel Pearson should have Colonel Daniell's regiment, Keane to be Lieutenant Colonel, and one Captain Heake[1] Major. That Lieutenant Colonel Lagoe should be Lieutenant Colonel to Fairfax's regiment. That Lieutenant Colonel Sawrey should have Colonel Cooper's regiment, and Major Holmes to be Lieutenant Colonel thereunto, and Colonel Mitchell to have Colonel Fitches regiment. This day a full committee met and past Colonel Overton's regiment, voteing Major Wiggan his Lieutenant Colonel,[2] and Captain John Nary his Major, and continueing most of the old officers in that regiment. G. M.

Council of War at Dalkeith, July 28, 1659

Present, xxxi. f. 1

Lord Generall Monck,

Colonel Wilkes,	Major Jo: Hublethorne,
Lieutenant Colonel Henry Pounall,	Captain Thomas Johnson,
Major Abr. Holmes,	Captain Jer. Smyth.

The question being putt whether the engagement undersubscribed should bee proposed to such persons as have given bonds for their peaceable living,

Itt was resolved in the affirmative. 'I doe heerby engage and promise that I will nott act, contrive, abett, councell, or assist in any thinge, for or in the behalf of Charles Stuart, or to the

[1] Nicholas Kelke.

[2] On Wigan see *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1659–60, p. 45.

disturbance of the publique peace or prejudice of the Parliament and Commonwealth of England.'

Resolved,

That the Governours doe send for all persons that are to subscribe in one day.

Resolved,

That the bonds bee nott renewed till the engagement bee subscribed.

That the time of subscription to bee heere uppon this day fortnight.[1]

Circular Letter from General Monck to Officers commanding in Scotland

li. f. 88. Sir,

Haveing received orders from the Councell of State that such as have given bond for their peaceable liveing to the Commonwealth shall likewise give an engagement under their hands that they shall act nothing directly or indirectly against the Commonwealth,[2] I shall therefore desire you to send to the Gentlemen whose names are here under written to speake with you (and to bee with you all in one day, and that day to bee Tuesday, the 16th of August), and let them not know the businesse at all, and offer them the inclosed engagement to signe, each by himselfe, and in case they refuse to subscribe it, to secure them till further orders; but if they doe signe itt, then you are not to secure them at all. And if any should refuse to subscribe, and afterwards declare their

[1] See also Warriston's letter to Monck of July 14, directing him to take personal assurances from those ex-prisoners in the Tower who had given bonds as a condition of their release (*Report on Mr. Leyborne-Popham's MSS.* p. 118). Besides imposing this engagement Monck sent a circular to all governors of garrisons in Scotland, ordering them to prevent horse-races and other suspicious meetings, &c., dated June 25, 1659 (*ibid.* p. 120).

[2] On July 14, 1659, the Council of State ordered General Monck to require paroles from dangerous persons in Scotland; Lord Warriston and Colonel Berry to prepare the letter (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1659–60, p. 27).

willingnesse to signe it, then you are not to discharge them till they have given bonds in good security according to the forme inclosed, and the summes mencioned after their names, and lett your selfe and one or more officers see the bonds and engagements subscribed, and signe as witnesses. In case any persons be absent, you are not to stay for them, but to take the subscriptions of those that are at home. You are to keepe this private, and not to communicate it to any freind whatsoever, and not to give out these orders too soone, but so that they may have time enough to be with you at the day above mencioned, and if for refusall you secure them, be carefull to doe it soe as they may not escape. I remayne

Your very loveing freind and servant,

GEORGE MONCK.

Dalkeith,
29 July 1659.

Lettres of this tenor to

Captain Bateman, Governor of Sinclaire Castle.

Lord Rea	2,000*li.*

Lieutenant Collonel Man.

Earle of Seafort	6,000*li.*
Laird of Glengary.	2,000*li.*

Major Davison.

Earle of Glencairne	12,000*li.*
Earle Marischall	6,000*li.*
Lord Lorne	10,000*li.*
Colonel George Keith	500*li.*

Captain Freer.

Lord Dudop in	6,000*li.*

To Major Heath.

Collonell Gilbert Stuart in . . .	1,000*li.*

Captain Marvell.

Recusants	Lieutenant Generall Leslie .	6,000*li.*
	Sir Francis Lumsdaine . .	1,000*li.*
	Colonel Jame Hay . .	1,000*li.*
Earle of Kelly		
Major Charles Erskin		

Colonel Reade.

Earle of Calander in	[blank]
Lord Napier.	500*li.*

Lieutenant Colonel Younge.

Earle of Glencairne in	12,000*li.*
Earle of Selkirke in	4,000*li.*
Lord Montgomery	5,000*li.*
Marquis of Montrosse	

Major Crispe.

Earle of Lowdoun in	5,000*li.*
Lord Kenmore	3,000*li.*

Major Hills.

Ewen Cameron of Loughyell in . .	1,000*li.*
Rory McCleoid of Dunvegan . . .	4,000*li.*

Captain Witter.

Colonel Alexander McNauchton in . .	1,000*li.*
Daniell McCleane of Brolos[1] . . .	500*li.*

Newsletter

xxxi. f. 176b. *July* 30, 1659.—Thursday last letters were intercepted at Reading intended for Massey in the Forrest of Deane, where he hath dealt severall commissions of Charles Stewart's. These letters acquainted him with the times and places of raiseing, and invites

[1] See *Report on the Papers of Mr. Leyborne-Popham*, p. 121.

him to be ready against to morrow with his party. Majour Generall Browne is withdrawne privately; his son (on whom hee hath settled his estate) said last night, it was because his father was affraid of being secured.[1] Sir William Waller is gone to Tonbridge, where the first corruption[2] is feared, Bristall and Bath the next. Yesterday all the saddle horses in the citty and suburbs were secured, and divers dangerous persons apprehended. The Lady Mary Howard, Earle of Barkeshire daughter, who its said came lately with commissions from Charles Stewart, and was in treaty with a grand officer of our army, was last night comitted to the Tower.[3] The Howse have revived the committee for Haberdasher's Hall. The committee for nominacions have agreed upon severall regiments. Doctor Staynes, Commissary for the musters, and the 2 adjutants were approved of. Newes is now come from Herifourdshire that Charles Stewart's partie is there up in armes. G. M.

Vice-Admiral Goodson to General Monck (?)

Swiftsure, in the Sound neere Scarlett Island, 31 July 1659.

The change of governsment in England hath putt a longe stoppe to affaires heere, the Dutch not well knowing how to deale with their old antagonist our present Parliament. Their fleete and wee have bin long facing one another one this and the Belt. They consist of about 85 men of warr; ours seldom above 38. I have, I must confessed, admired that they have not taken advantages on us, our fleet though little, yett smart, but theirs most of all the best shipps of Holland, and have had with them souldiers to put on board as many as they thought good; but when I looke xxxi. f. 196.

[1] See Baker's *Chronicle*, p. 671.

[2] Eruption?

[3] See *Commons' Journals*, vii. 741; *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1659–60, 158, 194, 230; *Mercurius Politicus*, p. 631; Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, i. 446; Baker's *Chronicle*, p. 672. Lambert was probably the great officer meant (Ludlow, ii. 111).

back to see the wheele within the wheeles, the finger of Heaven that steeres the affaires of all, I am sylent.

Wee have had men sick, and it may bee worse represented then it is; therefore [this is] to lett your Honour know wee have at present sick about 400, few more or lesse, and have had not more at any time.

Our Plenipotentiaryes arived the 20 instant, ever since when they have waighted for the King of Sweeden, who hath bin at Nascoe in Loland, which hee hath lately taken in, but is now come over, and gives them audience this day att Fredrickberg, formerly the King of Denmark's great pallace. I wish they may cut their worke short, for our victualls and the summer growes short. I am feare-full the ministers of the King of Sweden could represent the state of their fleete to bee very considerable and ready to joyne with ours, as was presented before wee came out of England, when ever since our coming into these parts they have had their shipps scattered in squadrillers, not doeing any service worth the naming. Onely Vice Admirall Cox with a squaderon of shipps the other day upon the coast of Uteland surprised five sayle of Danish men of warr, and burned twenty or thirty yoafes (?), being in an harbour without fortificacion, and nott capable of making any resistance, being not halfe mann'd. But this will hardly ballance their losse sustained in the former part of the yeare; they have onely this squardron that did this service, which consists of 7 sayle, that are able to performe present service, the rest of his shipps being 15 in Lanscrone not halfe maned, and 13 more chased up into the Baltick Sea by the Dutch, whence they will hardly returne this Summer.

W. G.

Newsletters

xxxi. f. 177b. *August* 2, 1659.—There came newes this day that a partie for Charles Stuart were uppe in Herefordshire, wheruppon the Councill ordered that all the officers should repaire to their charges. That night and the next day (most of the saddle horses in and neere

London being secured) severall parties of horse and dragoones were disperst into the adjacent counties, where many suspected persons as well as heere were apprehended, some armes found, colours taken, and their randezvous disappointed. This day a report was made in the House of many lettres from our forces in the severall counties, by which itt is concluded that the neck of this malignant designe is broken for the present. Colonel Blague, two of Charles Stuart's agents, and about 40 gentry are secured att Tunbridge.[1] A party is gone after the Earle of Middlesex and Lord Rotchfort northward. Colonel Grosvenor is secured heere uppon suspition of being engaged therin. Majour Generall Browne, who was absent some dayes, is return'd. Captain Elsmore and Captain Parry of Colonel Ingoldesbye's regiment, being taken with their armes and colours, itt's thought will be brought to a speedy triall. G. M.

Colonel Mayer to General Monck (?)

Carlile, 3 August 1659.

The inclosed is a copie of a letter from Collonel West which came to my hands about eleaven of the clock this morning, to which I shall referr you, and shall use all meanes possible to secure the peace of these parts, in order to which I intend forthwith to secure most of the activest and dangerouse persons, and if any thing of concernement happen I shall give your Lordshipp an account of it. J. M.[2] xxxi. f. 178b.

Enclosure

On the last Lord's day[3] after the latter sermon drumms did imediatly beate in Warrington (the onely pass in London Roade betweene Lancashire and Cheshire), and a greate sudden insurrection in many places of the borders of these two counties (on xxxi. f. 179.

[1] See *Mercurius Politicus*, July 31, p. 639, for an account of these gatherings in arms, and *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1659–60, pp. 59–61.

[2] John Mayer?

[3] July 31.

Monday morning) meeting at Warrington, whereas weere imbodyed about 500 horse and foote arm'd, headed by the Erle of Darby, Sir George Booth, Warberton of Ireley, Brooks, and other gentlemen of Cheshire and some of Lancashire, who have made them Captaines of men who have been in armes for Charles Stewart formerly. I being then at Wiggan, eight miles distant from Warrington, where was a slender party called the County troope, and twenty six horse of Colonel Sanders' regiment, and 10 horse of Captain Baynes' troope of the Lord Lambert's regiment, and being desired by the Councill of State to bee assisting to the preservation of the peace of the county, [I] desired the officers that a party of 10 might goe towards Warrington to discover the truith of such intelligence received by letters intercepted at two in the morning uppon the guards; and our party at Winwick, a mile from Warrington, met their scouts, and asking who they were for, they answered not; and to their question to ours, it was answered 'for the Common wealth,' uppon which they fired and retreated. Our scouts pursued till they discovered a troope of horse with collours advancing; which newse I desire yow to give an account off.[1]

Colonel West to Colonel Birch (?)

Lancaster, 8 August 1659.

I thanke you for your care, and am glad to observe Mr. Maiour and your diligence to preserve the peace.[1] The new enimie is busy raiseing men, but come noe neerer yet then Wiggan with any partie. I think (by what I have) they are very much short of theire expectation, and their charrit begins to drive heavily. If you can by your meanes hasten the advance of some horse and foote or dragoons, they would hinder theire increase, and secure theire and your counties, and bee ready with such as shall come out of the south and Yorkshire; from both places I am sure there

[1] This letter was apparently written to Colonel West by someone at Warrington, perhaps by Colonel Birch, and forwarded by West.

will shortly bee sent, and they may drive them on us and you, if wee have not the reputation of some force on this side the enimy. It will concerne yow to have an eye on good neighbours; any thing promots at the begining. Yesterday some good men came from Yorke and say all is at peace there, soe that I hope they will have a poore busines of it, if they have not too much liberty given them. Wm. West.

I forbeare to tell what horrible things have been spoken in pulpitts last Lord's day, because some base fellowes (whome I cannot beare) are apt to say I am noe favourer of ministers, though I love good ones in my heart, and shall ever honour such as seeke the honour of God. W. W.

Newsletter

August 4, 1659.—Yesterday the Commissioners for nominacion voted Lieutenant Colonel Keane and Major Kelke to be feild officers in Colonel Pearson's regiment. A private souldier taken with Captain Elsmore is adjudged by a Court Martiall to be hanged. Newes then came that Massy was taken by a troope of horse at one Mr. Beales house neare Bristoll, and rideing all night toward Gloucester he escaped by a fall of his horse and the darkenesse of the night, though a troop ridde behind him. The Lord Herbert was that day secured at his owne house. Letters came late at night that Colonel John Booth came Sunday last into Chester, and made way for the reception of Sir George Booth, his brother, and Colonel Ireland the next day. The gates were promised to bee open for them when they pleased. The next day they marcht with a party of horse through a great part of the country, and this day intend their rendezvous at Houghton Heath.[1] Four regiments are this day marcht towards them and Shrewesbury, where 6000 armes are in the Castle, the people disaffected to the xxxi. f. 178.

[1] Rowton Heath?

present authority, and but a troope and company to serve both towne and Castle. This day the House was resolved into a Grand Committe upon the governement, and ordered to resume it againe Tuesday next. G. M.

Narrative of Events at Gloucester

xxxi. f. 182. That there was a constant rumour of great preparations of the enemy for some designe upon the citty of Gloucester, of which we could gitt noe perticular intellegence as to tyme or persons, untill we had, by spyes imployed amongst them, indeavoured to discover there motion.

That on Munday the 25th July we had informacion that Massy eyther then was or laitely had beene within the said citty, and that there were lodged in severall secrett places therein about 500 musquetts, which at the tyme of putting ther designe in execution should be delivered out to such persons as they had ingaiged with in the citty, as also to such others as should come in from other places, as country men on foote on pretence of bussiness at the Assize.

That on Tuesday the 26th day of July we had certaine intelligence that they had agreed on the tyme of falling on the citty, which was to have beene on the Thursday followinge, about 3 or 4 of the clocke in the morninge, and that in order thereunto they were to meete at severall randevous to be agreed on the day before, at such places as were most convenient for the meeting of such persons ingaiged, which they were confedent would be soe numerous as to inable them to fall on every gate and quarter of the citty at once with severall hundred, besydes those that were to rise within. That thereupon Mr. Alderman Pury and Mr. Thomas Pury the younger, adviseing with Captain Dale, captain of a troope of the army, and with Captain Croft, captain of one of the Militia troopes, did suppose it absolutely necessary forthwith to cause drumms to beate, and to raise such a number of foote of the well-affected

within the citty as conveniently could be; which they did accordingly, and there were raised that same day 4 companies of musquettears, consisting of about 300 men.

That the intelligence continueing, and many other informations and circumstances concurring from all parts, it was thought absolutely necessary that the horse (being the two militia troopes, and Captain Dale's troope of the army) should take there station in 3 severall places within the citty, and there remaine on constant guards with there whole troopes both night and day, and the severall companies of foote at such places as was agreed; which accordingly they have done and still resolve to continue to doe.

That on Fryday the 29th July we had certaine informacion, that by reason of such preparacions as were maid, and the great dilligence of the forces in Gloucester, the enemy had changed there counsells as to come; that they had dayly meetings of the leading men in the Forrest of Deane, and Massy certainely with them;[1] that from thence severall thousands would appeare of colliers, miners, and from about Stroud water neer one thousand men, from other quarters about the citty severall hundreds, as alsoe within the citty; that a speciall messinger was sent from Massey and those mett to advise on the Forrest syde, to those on the other syde, to forbeare fallinge on untill further order.

On Satterday, 30th July, at night receved two letters intercepted, intimateinge that the first day of Augnst was the tyme appointed by the enemies to be in armes, and to march to the severall places of randevous, and then to fall upon such places as they thought fittest for their designe; and that the Lord Herbert, Colonel Massey, Colonel Berrow, Captain Glaynfford, and others would fall upon Gloucester with there united forces from the forces on the syde of the said River of Seaverne, and with there other forces on this syde of the said river; for prevention whereof we sent a party of above 100 horse on Satterday night aforesaid to seize upon the Lord Herbert and others on this syde the river,

[1] See Washbourne's *Bibliotheca Gloucestriensis*, p. cc.

and another party of about 70 horse to seize upon Colonel Berrow, Captain Glaynfford, and others on the forrest syde of Seaverne. And upon Sunday morning we received intelligence that our party of horse on this syde Seaverne had taken three of Mr. Veales sonnes and others with there armes and horses, and about 3 howres after that they had taken Colonel Massey and his man with all his fyre workes and other engines of warr and their warr horses, and afterwards they had taken the Lord Herbert with some store of pistells and other armes, and that they were all prissoners and comeing on the way for Gloucester. The manner thus: Massey was taken about xi. a clocke before noone, with another person there in a buffe coate and britches, his hare very blacke and very longe, and talked of to be a very great person; but he maid his escaipe whilst they were about. Collonel Massey being taken, was carried about with other prisoners unto the Lord Herbert's house, and from thence with the Lord Herbert and the other prissoners they journied toward Gloucester, being about five houres after Massey was taken, and about the close of day light they came to Nimpsfeilds roade downe a very steepe hill about 10 myles from Gloucester, the roade way to Bayth, and then there fell a very great storme of rayne, with a groasse thick darkness, and Massey being then horsed, and a stout man behind him to hould him in his armes, and two of each syde of him, and some troopers rideing before his horse, and others behind him, Massey's horse and himselfe, with the man that roade behind him, fell headlonge alltogether, and tumbling downe that steepe hill the man that roade behinde Massey lost his hold of him, and the rest tumbling downe after them, being much bruised; and it was then soe darke that (as they affirme) and soe quite lost him and all the rest of the prissoners before mentioned to be taken, who maid alsoe there escaipe, exsceptinge onely the Lord Herbert and Colonel Massey's servant who are prisoners at Gloucester. Our party of horse that went out that day into the forrest syde beyonde Seaverne supprised Colonel Browne, Captain Glaynfford, and others in Colonel Berrow's

dwelling house with there armes; but after a parly together, and some miscarridge (as they pretend) whereby they fired at each other, our party was content to take there words to come to Gloucester this day to render themselves unto us; but they come not, whereby its most apparant how infortunate we have beene in this last designe, which had it proved fortunate it would under God have utterly frustrated the enimies designe in those parts, in regard they would have beene destitute of all their cheife and ablest commanders, councellers, and undertakers.

Newsletters

August 5, 1659.—Major Generall Massie is retaken. Hee made an escape, but was retaken goeing over a ferry neere Bristoll. A souldjer comeing the last night to London out of Hampshire informed the Councill that about 60 horse weere together in a body, which by a troope of the army and the county troope weere pursued upp and downe the country. On Monday night some officers that weere laid aside weere secured: Quartermaster Generall Gravenour, Captain Elsmore, Lieutenant Barrie, Quartermaster Spicer, and one of the life guard, and a souldjer of Collonel Swallowe's regiment, and that Ingoldsby and Babington weere looked for, but could not bee found. xxxi. f. 184b.

P. J.

August 6.—This day the grand committee had some debate on the Act of Union, but referred itt to Wednesday next, and passed an order in these words: That itt bee referred to the Councill of State to take care to prepare something concerning the setling of the administracion of justice and leavying of the Assessmente in Scotland, and present itt to this House for their consideracion. For ought I apprehend the Act of Union will bee a worke of some time. xxxi. f. 186b.

R. W.

xxxi. f. 181b. *August* 6, 1659.—Yesterday the House order'd the Lord Lambert to march out and command the army; drawing forth, the traine marched after them. Monday last the Lancashire Erupters proclaimed Charles Stewart. Wednesday last at Warrington Bridge, Sir George Booth hearing of it, said it would bee their ruine; they declare onely for a full and free Parliament, takeing of the taxes, liberty of conscience, and paying the souldyers.[1] The gentry and ministry of Cheshire and Lancashire appeare much in this insurrecion, which makes their number much encreased. Lieutenant-Generall Whalley was ordered by the committee to commande Generall Montague's regiment, but it was carryed in the House by 7 voyces for Collonel Alured. The bill for uniteinge England and Scotland tooke up the dayes debate. Sir Henry Littleton hath possest Cherke Castle in Denbighsheire with two troopes. The Lord Falkeland was yesterday secured at his owne house, and soe are the Lord Falconbridge and Collonel Rossiter by this time. Major-Generall Browne is att his house. Sir George Booth is marcht into Lancashire, where 2 regiments of our horse will visit him to-morrow. Three of our regiments are sent for out of Flanders. This night the Lord Lambert is march't away.[2]

G. M.

[1] Booth and his friends asserted that 'they had taken arms in vindication of the freedom of Parliament, of the known laws, liberty and property, and of the good people of this kingdom groaning under uncomfortable taxes.' See 'A Declaration of Sir G. Booth at the last rendezvous on Tuesday last near the city of Chester;' Sir George Booth's letter of August 2, 1659, showing the reasons of his present engagement.

[2] Lambert took with him, according to *Mercurius Politicus* (p. 650), three regiments of horse and one regiment of dragoons, three regiments of foot and a train of artillery. Their names are not given. In his letter of August 20 he says that on Sunday, August 14, 'the two regiments of foot which marched from London with the horse under the command of Colonel Swallow and Major Creed, being in all nineteen troops, united at Drayton, in the county of Salop.' He sent back, however, the militia troop of Staffordshire and Derbyshire, and Captain Sabberton's troop of Swallow's, marching with the rest to Nantwich, where he stayed two days and was joined by four companies of Colonel Biscoe's foot and two of Colonel Ashfield's, and also by one troop of his own regiment and three of Colonel Lilburne's. In the

[*August* 8].—Colonel Gravenor upon suspition is committed to the Tower. Saturday, the 6 August, came intelligence, and Sonday, the 7, that the Earle of Manchester, the Lord Willoby of Parham, and Sir William Waller, were joyned with the Earle of Darby, the Earle of Stafford, and Sir George Booth in Lancashire, and that in the towne of Manchester they had raised 3 or 4 troopes of horse, and that three counties did rise with them, vizt. Staffordshire, Cheshire, and Lancashire, that they had raised 7 or 8 thousand horse and foote and published a declaration they were for calling a free Parliament; but it's said they had theire comission from Charles Stewart, and that they have chosen the Earl of Manchester their Generall, and Sir William Waller their Lieutenant Generall,[1] and appointed other officers. That they have taken Wiggan and West Chester, and that some ministers in Lancashire, whose names I omitt, are joyned with them. 6 regiments out of Yorkshire and other counties are goeing to oppose them. It's said that they are goeing towards Wales. The issue of this busines wee waite for. Massey since his last escape is retaken, as it is certified for certaine. xxi. f. 185.

Newsletters

August 9.—The Commissioners have voted Colonel Talbott to bee Colonell, Colcnel Wroth Rogers Lieutenant Colonel, and Henry Pounall, who was Lieutenant Colonel, to bee Major. They have agreed uppon Generall Monck's regiment of horse with these alterncions, vizt. the Cornet of his owne troope to be put out and Captain Abra. Davies in his roome, the Major's Quarter Master put out and one Evan Lewis in his roome, Captain Johnson (eldest captain) put out and one captain Glinne put in his roome, Captain xxi. f. 198.

battle, therefore, he had about twenty troops of horse, and two regiments and six companies of foot, or perhaps three regiments, twelve hundred or fifteen hundred horse, and at most about 3,000 foot. The foot regiments were Hewson's, his own, and parts of others; and the horse regiments, Swallow's, his own, part of Lilburne's, and some miscellaneous troops belonging to various regiments.

[1] Manchester was not there, and Waller was a prisoner.

Legg left out and Captain Combes (formerly of Collonel Bridges, now of Collonel Okeyes regiment) put in, Quarter Master Crispin left out and one Quarter Master Dagget put in. They likewise agreed upon the inferriour officers of Collonel Pearsons and Collonel Fairfaxes regiments . . .[1]

Yesterday the House fined Mr. Brookes and Mr. Dunch (two of theire Members) 100*li.* per peice for being with Sir George Booth, and 20*li.* a peice on such Members as appeare not Munday next, except such as have leave and are in service. An Act was comitted for setleing the lands of such as were in rebellion upon the tenants of such landlords as shall adventure life for the Parliament. The proclameinge of Charles Stewart at Warrington hath occasioned all Sir George Booth's party to desert him but 1300, which hath put that party in this citty upon a desperaet designe (under the nocion of haveing a Common Hall to peticion for a free Parliament) to cause a generall insurreccion, for the prevencion whereof the House this day ordred that the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen be sent for, and the meeting of the Common Hall prohibited;[2] that Sir George Booth and Sir Thomas Middleton, and all that joyne with, abett, or assist them or any other against the present authority, be forth with proclamed traytors, which was done accordingly.[3] Severall partyes of horse and foot are drawne out to quarter in the citty to prevent there intended insurreccion, which was to be at 5 a clock this evening. The 3 regiments sent for out of Flanders ar landed at Gravesend, and are here expected speedily.[4]

Yours H. S.
G. M.

9 August, 59.

[1] The names of these officers are omitted. See *Commons' Journals*, vii. 743, 762.

[2] *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1659–60, p. 90. Cf. Whitelocke, *Memorials*, iv. p. 357.

[3] The proclamation against Booth, dated August 9, is printed in the *Public Intelligencer*, August 8–15, p. 647.

[4] See *Thurloe Papers*, vii. 722. The three regiments sent from Dunkirk were

Atkinson, who was condemned for flyeing to the adverse party, was this day pardoned.

Arrests in Scotland

August 12, 1659.—The engagement being tendred by Major Holmes and Captain Mawell att Brunt Island to Lieutenant Generall Lesley, Sir James Lumsdaine, and Colonel James Hay, they refused itt, and were sent prisoners to Edinborough Castle. xxxi. f. 187.

Earle of Lowdoune alsoe prisoner there. The Earle of Calander comitted upon the same account in Sterling Castle.

Robert, Lord Viscount Kenmore att Ayre.

George, Earle Marishall
Archibald, Lord Lorne } att Dunnottyr Castle.

Marquesse of Montrosse
Lord Napier } in Sterling Castle.

Lord Duddopp att Dundee.

Earle of Kelly with the Marshall Generall.

Subscribed to the engagement, 11 August, att Dalkeith.

William, Earle of Glencairne.
Hugh, Lord Montgomery.
John, Earle of Rothesse.

Subscribed since 7 September, att Dalkeith.

Lord Duddopp.
Earle of Seafort.
Angus McDonald, Laird of Glengary.
Ewen Cameron, Laird of Loughyell.
Earle Marischall.
Colonel George Keith.
Lord Ogilvy.

the three 'field regiments' which had lately been serving with the French army, viz. the regiments of Major-General Morgan, Sir Brice Cochrane, and Colonel Sam Clarke. On arriving in England they were reduced into two regiments, under Cochrane and Clarke. *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1659-60, p. 121.

Newsletter

xxxi. f. 192. *August* 13, 1659.—Yesterday a letter came from Majour Creed, that hee hath lately taken a sarjant and 6 private souldiers of the enimie, by whom hee understood that Sir George Booth was marcht to wards Liverpoole to possesse himselfe of some great gunns, with other armes and amunicion. That hee hath a 1000 horse, but for the number of his foote hee cannot learne. Other letters say that Sir George Booth hath sent a party to North Wales, another to Shropshire, another to Lancashire, and that their randezvouse is appointed at Branden Moore, 12 miles from Chester. The Lord Lambert lay at Coventrye last Wednesday, and at Whitchurch this night. Majour Creed endeavoured to engage them att Namptwich, but the enemy marcht away in a disorderly manner towards Liverpoole. Yesterday the Duke of Bucks, the Lord of Oxford, Lord Falkeland, Lord Delaware, and other persons of honour were under examinacion. The House ordered that the Militia of the severall counties should secure such persons and their armes as they shall thinke fitt. They approved of the Militia of Yorkeshire, and their raising 3000 foote and 600 horses. They gave commissions to the officers of the three new raised regiments of the Congregated Churches under commande of Sir Henry Vane, Collonel White, and Majour Generall Skippon, and past the bill for paying in the seacond moityes of States purcheses. Severall letters of the enemy are intercepted, but a clavis cannot be found to them, because they are not in figures but names. Letters from our fleet speaks them in a good and peaceable condicion. The Prince of Conde's raising 7000 men for England is a malignant reporte. G. M.

The Council of State to General Monck

li. f. 90. Sir,

The Councill being informed of the greate distresse of the citty of Edinburgh, and their earnest desire that the way of the payment

of their assessment may bee chainged into a more equall, easie, and insensible way, by putting burthen on some things in that citty, the Councill doth direct yow to receive and consider theire supplications and overtures of the best wayes that may bring in the cesse unto yow, and may give most ease and contentment to that citty, and gives yow power, with the concurrance of the Commissioners of the assessment in that citty, to setle that way of paying the cesse which with the consent of the magistrate and Towne Councill yow shall judge may bee most equall, easy, and satisfactory to that citty, and direct yow to countenance and assist the magistrate of that citty in the execution thereof, for the which this shalbee a sufficient warrant to yow and the Commissioners of the assessment.

Signed, in the name and by order of the Council of State appointed by authority of Parliament,

ART. HESILRIGE, President.

Whitehall,
15th August,
1659.

Newsletters

August 16, 1659.—Saturday last the House was resolved into a Grand Committee upon the bill for union for Scotland and Ireland, and are to resume it Thursday next. They ordered Doctour Samuell Winter to come over from Ireland and attend the pleasure of the House, and passed the bill for setling the militia of the Isle of Wight, and passed likewise that of second moities. Yesterday they ordered Mr. Needham to write the newes as formerly, and Mr. Can to bee referred to the Councill for a salary or an imployment.[1] Since my last there hath bin 4 insurrections: one in the county of Nottingham by the Lord Biron, Collonel White, and Mr. Francis Pierepont's heire (a prisoner) who hath 5000*li.* per annum, and the party disperct by the county xxxi. f. 198.

[1] Needham had been removed from the post of editor of the *Public Intelligencer* on May 13, and replaced by John Canne (*Commons' Journals*, vii. 652).

troope; another in Leicestershire, which is inconsiderable; a third in Darby towne, who after they had gotten 4000*li.* of the excise and assesment, were disperst by 3 troopes sent from the Lord Lambert; and a forth in Surry by the Lord Leechfeeld, who were dispers't by the county troope, a party of the life guard, and a party of Collonel Hacker's horse, but they are since gone into Sussex. The Earle of Rutland assured the Lord Fleetewood that Belvoire is kept by some of his owne servants at present, and at his excellencies dispose when he pleased to comand it. Charles Stewart and the Duke of York are privately withdrawne from the Prince of Orange's; severall places in England are layd for them. The Lord Stamford dranke their healths to parte of the county troope, when they came for 4 horses at which hee was assessed. Sir George Booth's parte was at Warrington Sunday last, and the Lord Lambert's at Stafford, his march having bin much interrupted by greate floods in those parts. This day the House was in a Grand Committee upon the government, some being for successive Parliaments and a Councill, others to have it referred to a committee who receive proposalls from the army or any others. G. M.

xxxi. f. 195. [*August* 18 ?]—Heere hath bin stronge indeavours to raise commotions in and about the citty of London, which have bin hitherto prevented, and the enemies, wheresoever they have appeared, have bin broken and scatter'd. Uppon the Lord's day last wee had an account of the Earle of Stamford's declaring for the King, and of his gathering together two or 300 persons in armes, Major Babington being with them; butt uppon an intimacion that some companies of Colonel Biscoe's and Colonel Salmon's regiments, att that time uppon their march towards Major Generall Lambert quartering within 10 miles of the Earle of Stamford's, were with some militia horse making towards them, the whole company with the Earle dispersed, and the Earle himself is now

prisoner in Lecester.[1] Att the same time the Lord Byron and Colonel White, with some other gentlemen, gather'd together about 120 horse, in Sherwood Forrest neere Nottingham, were falne uppon by the county troope there and beaten, and their colours taken, and the enemy pursued about 12 miles by the county troope.[2] Colonel White and some few that escaped to Derby, coming in thither uppon the markett day and declaring for a free Parliament (under pretence wherof they deceive many persons and perswade them into a conjunction with them), they there gather'd a partie together, uppon notice wherof Major Generall Lambert sent some horse towards that place, uppon whose approach that partie alsoe scattered, and the country remaynes in quiett, as alsoe doe all places except Cheshire and Lancashire. Major Generall Lambert, with about 8 regiments of horse and foote, will bee this day before Chester.

August 20, 1650.—Since my last there is come over from Ireland 1000 foote under Collonel Axtell's comand, and 500 horse under Collonel Sanky, and by this time they are march't from Holyhead to West Chester, before which the Lord Lambert is sett downe to refresh his army.[3] 50 pair of pistolls, 12 good horses and 6 men were taken yesterday in Hartfordshire. It's said the party was to have bin commanded by Sir William Compton. 50 pair of pistolls likewise were seized going to the house of a Member of Parliament.[4] A greate jealousie was last night heere of an insurrection in this citty, which occasioned the guards to bee trebled. A trumpett with 2 ministours came Wensday last with an expresse from Sir George Booth and Sir Thomas Midleton to the Lord Lambert, shewing the ground of their raising up in xxxi. f. 196.

[1] *Mercurius Politicus*, August 11–18, p. 673; *Public Intelligencer*, August 15–22, p. 686.

[2] See *Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, ii. 220, 389, ed. 1885.

[3] See Ludlow's *Memoirs*, ii. 110–13.

[4] See Cornet Boteler's letter, *Tanner MSS.* li. 183.

armes, and desiring a treaty before any blood was shedd in the quarrell, which the Lord Lambert agreed unto if they would lay downe their armes; but having taken them up without authority, hee is comanded by the Parliament to reduce them to obedience, which he is by God's assistance resolved to doe. The House approved of what the Lord Lambert and the Commissioners of Ireland had done in listing of men; they ordered a proclamacion to bee issued forth against the Earle of Northamton, and Earle of Leechfeild, Major Generall Browne, Sir Thomas Leventhorpe, Sir William Compton, and Mr. Fanshawe. G. M.

xxxi. f. 197. *August* 20.—This evening about 7 of the clock came to the Councill of State one of their messengers from the Lord Lambert with this message, vizt. Remember me to my frinds of the Councill, and tell them the enemy is routed, and as soone as I can I will send the perticulars. The messenger said hee sawe 3 of the enemies colors, redd, white and blew, and 6 or 7 men kill'd, and said the engagement was at a stone bridge neer Northwich, and after a sharp conflict the enemy fell into disorder, and ran 2 wayes, part towards Chester and part towards Lancashire; they as went towards Chester were pursued, and the Lord Lambert was drawing out part of his forces to send towards them as ran Lancashire ward. A more perticular account is expected shortly.[1] The last night

[1] Lambert's account of Sir George Booth's defeat, which is dated Northwich, August 20, was read in Parliament on August 22. It was sent by Captain Brown, of Colonel Hewson's regiment, and is printed under the title of *The Lord Lambert's Letter to the Speaker concerning the Victory over the Rebels under Sir George Booth*. In two other letters, dated the next day, Lambert announced the surrender of Chester; and with them was also printed a letter from Major Edmund Waring, the Governor of Shrewsbury, relating occurrences in Chester after Booth's defeat. The original of Waring's letter is amongst the *Tanner MSS.* (li. 131). These three letters are printed as *A Second and Third Letter from the Lord Lambert*, &c. Chirk Castle, which had been garrisoned by the Royalists, surrendered to Lambert on August 24, and in the letter announcing its fall he was able to say, 'There is now no visible enemy appearing in these parts' (*The Public Intelligencer*, August 22–29, p. 687). The fullest account of Booth's defeat on the Royalist side is that by Mr. Mordaunt, *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 552; see also Ludlow, ii. 118.

the citty, or rather our enimies in it, alarm'd us with threats to distroy us, which occasioned our horse and foote to drawe out and march about the streets, and the Lord Maiour was up alsoe and with the citty forces, and soe they stired not to molest us.

August 25, '59.—Yesterday Sir George Booth was taken in womens apparell at Newport Pagnell,[1] where alighting from behind a servant and off a pillion without a cloth at the Reed Lyon (the only well affected inne there), the Master of the house takeing him off and finding him ponderous, his stepps very long, desireing a private and inward chamber, was jealous that he was a man in womenes apparell; and sending two maid servants to attend him they found he was called by the name of Mrs. Dorothy, and they inviteing her into an other chamber for the convenience of her sex, she refused, but rather chose to repose her selfe upon a bed in the same roome, where one of the maides espied her foote to be some thing bigg and her shooe to be broad toed, came downe and tould her Master that shee beleived Mrs. Dorothy was a man in woman's apparell, which confirmeing his owne former jealousie, sent the maids up againe to make some further discoverry; and comeing in they found the men lookeing about the roome for holes or crevises, and placeing a screene (which they had out of the next chamber) before those in the doore to prevent any inspectione into the chamber. After a more plentifull supper then such seemeing ordinary guests usually have, a barber was required, who shaveing two of the men, one of them bought a razure and a wash ball of him. The Master of the inne sending for 10 well affected neighbours, told them the grounds of his jealousies, who armeing them selves, about one in the morneing breake open Mrs. Dorothy's chamber doore, who runing her breast against one of the men's pistolls cryed for quarter. They demaunded what she was; she said a Gentlewoman travelling out of Derbyshire toward London. xxxi. f. 200.

[1] See *A True Narrative of the Taking of Sir George Booth on Tuesday last*, 4to, 1659.

They replyed she was noe woman but a man, and demaunded his name. Then he told them there was the providence of God seen in his discovery, and therefore he would not conceale his name, but confes't it was Sir George Booth, at which they were more astonished then hee were before affrighted. They procured a gentleman's suite of clothes for him in that towne, bought him a new hatt and a new paire of bootes, and sent him away presently with a guard. The House comited him to the Tower close prisoner, and not to have benifitt of penn, incke, or paper, and appointed Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Heslerigg, and Majour Salway to examen him. This day he denyed the proclameing of Charles Stewart by his order, or houlding any correspondencie with him, but confes't hee meet frequently with Mr. Mordent, his agent, when he was last in London. This day the House ordred that the said comittee should further examen him as they saw occasione. They ordered the bill for sequestering the new Delinquents' estates should looke backe and commence from the yeare 1658. They approved of the secureing of Sir Anthony Ashly Cooper upon the discovery of severall letters of his which were lately intercepted.[1] I humbly subscribe myselfe.

Your H.
G. M.

xxxi. f. 208. *August* 27, 1659.—This afternoone report was made that Sir George Booth had confest further to the committee that his Lady had a letter from Charles Stewart, but would not say hee had any comission from him; that the first of the last month was the intended day for a generall insurrection, and the 8th was to land with 5000 men at Lyn; and that there was a list of 300 of the Nobility and Gentry engaged herein, which in time may bee produced by him.

[1] See Whitelocke, *Memorials*, iv. 349, 361; Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 116. On September 14 Cooper was voted not guilty of the charge (*Commons' Journals*, vii. 778).

August 27, 1659.—The Act of Union was yesterday under consideracion of the Grand Committee, wherin they made some progresse, butt have recommitted itt, and order'd a report on Friday next.[1] The clause or provisoe of liberty for tender consciences has occasioned some debate about the wording of itt, there being contrary parties engaged in itt. There is a clause under consideracion as one, that rebellion in Scotland shall render the Union null, another for naturalization, a third that treason shall bee adjudged according to the English lawes. R. W. xxxi. f. 203.

Newsletters

September 6, 1659.—Saturday last the House agreed uppon an engagement to bee taken by the commission officers of the Militia, vizte.: I doe declare that I doe renounce the pretended title of Charles Stuart, and the whole line of the late King James, and of any other person as a single person pretending to the governement of these nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories therunto belonging; and that I will, by the assistance of Almighty God, bee true, faithfull, and constant to this Commonwealth, against any King, single person, and House of Peeres, and every of them, &c.[2] They ordered the amendementes to the bill for setling lands in Ireland uppon the adventurers and souldiers to bee reported Wednesday next. Sir George Booth his Lady lately sent a lettre to the Lord Bradshaw, desiring his mediation to the Parliament for mercy and favour to xxxi. f. 207.

[1] The business of the Union was in charge of Bulstrode Whitelocke, who introduced the Bill on July 30, 1659. He records a complimentary letter from Monck to himself on the subject, and says also that Monck wished to persuade him to become one of the Commissioners for the government of Scotland (*Memorials*, iv. 349, 352, 355, 363). On the proviso mentioned, see next page.

[2] September 8. See *Commons' Journals*, vii. 774. The imposition of this oath was strongly opposed by Vane, and in consequence of his opposition it was referred to a committee, as stated at the close of this letter (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1659-60, p. 207; see also *The Trial of Sir Henry Vane*, 1662, 4to, p. 45; Carte, *Original Letters*, ii. 216).

her husband. The Councill ordered his Lordshippe to send an answer, That the way for him to receive favour and mercy is to bee ingenuous, and confesse the whole truth of what hee knoweth in the late designed rebellion.[1] The Portugall is excluded out of the articles betweene France and Spaine, and the Prince of Conde is to loose his command and all his priviledges. Yesterday the Members of Parliament attended the corps of the Attorney Generall to Knights-bridge.[2] The fleete is come into Sole-Bay. Commissioners are gone to consult with Generall Mountague about their pay and sending a parte of them out againe.[3] The Lord Stamford yesterday committed to Lambeth House. This day the House was called, their subscribing the abovesaid engagement debated, and referr'd to a committee. G. M.

On the Bill for the Union of England and Scotland

xxxi. f. 207. Concerning the provisoe offer'd by the Petitioners to bee put in the Bill of Union.[4] It is desired that the Honorable Members will consider—

1. That it is unnecessary for either of their words debarring and molesting, they meane the ecclesiastick censures or civill punishments. As for ecclesiasticall censures, they have since Worster

[1] See Lady Booth's letter to Sir Arthur Haslerig, September 22, 1659. *MSS. of the Duke of Portland*, i. 685, and also *Commons' Journals*, vii. 770; *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1659–60, p. 163; Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, i. 466.

[2] Edmund Prideaux.

[3] See *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1659–60, pp. 163, 166, 167; *Thurloe*, vii. 726, 731, 744; Clarendon, *State Papers*, iii. 551, 564. Montague, on September 10, gave an account 'of the business of the Sound, and of the fleet' to the Council of State, who desired him 'to write down the said narrative' (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1659–60, p. 184). A copy is amongst the MSS. of Lord Sandwich, but it has never been printed.

[4] The business of the Union with Scotland occupied the restored Long Parliament for many sittings, as the Union effected by Cromwell's ordinances and by the Instrument of Government was held invalid. On May 18, 1659, a Committee of the Council was appointed to take the question into consideration, and to report an Act for the purpose (*Commons' Journals*, vii. 658). On May 24 an address, signed by the deputies who consented to the Union in 1652, was presented to Parliament, and

fight been made use of against very fewe, if against any: there are some [1] Quakers and others for gross erroures and practices onely excepted; and what Church, whether Independant or Annabaptist, but doth clame liberty from the word of God to censer all who were members of their Church for scandalouse offences in doctrine or life? and may not they in Scotland accompt it a slavery and noe liberty to bee denyed the like? And as to civill punishments, noe

referred to the Council of State (*ibid.* p. 664). The address is printed in Nicoll's *Diary* (p. 242). The Committee of Council reported an old Bill on the Union, read twice formerly in Parliament, probably that which was discussed in the Parliament of 1656 (*ibid.* pp. 445, 450, 681; *cf. Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 333). The House, however, ordered a new Bill to be prepared and introduced. This Bill was read a first time on July 27, and a second time on July 30. It was debated in Committee of the whole House for eleven sittings during the next few weeks, but got no further (*ibid.* pp. 693, 736, 740, &c.).

This delay was probably due to the fact that the whole question of the limits of toleration was raised while the Bill was in Committee, by some of the amendments to it which were proposed. On July 27 Colonel Cobbett had presented to Parliament a petition from 'some well-affected persons in Edinburgh, and other places near adjacent.' The petitioners, after congratulating the Parliament on its restoration, concluded with the following request:—

'It is our humble desire for ourselves and several others in this nation, that you will take care to provide for our just liberties, that we may share of those Gospel priviledges that the truly godly in England contend for, and expect to be secured in by you; and that any law or Act of Parliament of this nation contrary thereunto may be abolished, either by some proviso to that effect to be inserted in the Act of Union, or by some other expedient way as you shall think fit; in doing whereof we shall look upon ourselves as engaged to bless God for you, and stand to you with our lives and estates.'

The Speaker answered that the House was considering the Act of Union, and would take this request into consideration, 'and do that which shall be best for you and the whole nation.' *Mercurius Politicus*, July 21–28, 1659, in which this petition is printed (p. 623; see also Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 245), observes: 'It's very remarkable that this petition from Scotland is the first that hath been presented from that nation to any power in England since the late troubles.' The authors of the petition were without doubt the 'gathered Churches,' *i.e.* the Independent congregations which had sprung up in Scotland during its government by the English (see *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, pp. xxxix–xli). Though few in number, they were strong supporters of the English Government. It is evident that an attempt was made to insert a proviso of the kind which they desired, and that the paper printed here was drawn up by some Scottish Presbyterian in answer to that proviso and the policy which it represented.

[1] MS. 'fower.'

instance can bee given since Worster where any person censured by the Church hath thereupon any waies suffered by the civill lawe or judge; and whatever danger can at this time bee apprehended that way may with farr less offence bee prevented by an express instruction to the Commissioners for Scotland, or to any Councellors or Judges theere, who onely executs such lawes, to abstaine from executeing the same, except in cases where themselves see good causes soe to doe.

2. It is not expedient in an Act of Union to insert such a proviso which will unquestionably disunite and discontent the godly, the ministry, the incorporations, and body of Scotland, and that upon grounds of conscience, letters from Generall Monck haveing already hinted how much they [are] dissatisfied with proceedures of this kinde.

3. This Act of Union is founded in the narrative thereof on the consent of Scotland by the Deputies of their counties and burghes, anno 1652. But nothing of this kinde was ever demaunded of, or consented to by them, nor could it bee expected that any county or burgh in that nation would give consent thereto. All which was demaunded to bee ruled by their owne lawes, except in soe farr as they should thereafter bee altered by common consent in Parliament, whereof they being Members [are] now to bee first heard; and if it bee urged that this Parliament may doe it without the consent of Scotland, it may bee answered that would bee by way of conquest rather then by lawe before the union, and that after declaracions not to use them as a province conquered by force, but as brethren united by consent. Yea, and after a former Act of Union founded onely in consent, and after an admission and usage of them as soe unite[d] for five yeares together, in the which case they would consider that by the word of God, if once the Isaralite married his captive, he behoved to use her as his wife (Deut. 21), and what Oded preached to Isarell concerneing captive Judah (2 Chron. 28), and what the Lord spoke to Jeremiah (chap. 34) concerneing the recalling that freedome once granted to their Hebrew brethren.

4. There is a very greate difference between the case of Scotland, where there is a setled constitute Church in doctrines, worship, and disciplin (very few that have been reputed professours differing therefrom these many yeares past, and now lately troubled with some persons who deny their ministry, ordinances, churches, and sundry fundamentall truithes in their confession of faith, and who revile and interrupt them in their worship and assemblies), and the case of England, which is yet unsetled, and wherein soe many godly men are of soe different opinions and waies, necessitateing a larger tolleracion there then in Scotland, where the prophane and malignant, who for the most part would bee loose of all discipline and restraint, are these that make most use of tolleration there. And upon serious consideration it will plainly appeare, that the most part of these reasons made use of for tolleration in England militat against granting the like latitude of tolleration in Scotland.

5. This proviso is much larger, and doth want severall restrictions mentioned in the 10th and 11th articles of the very Petition and Advise. As first the professing faith in God the Father, in Christ as the true God, and in the Holy Spirit. 2^{ly}. In acknowledging the Scriptures in the Old and New Testament to bee the revealed will and word of God. 3^{ly}. The punishing such who openly revile the ministry, or their assemblies, or disturbe them in the worship of God. 4^{ly}. That this liberty bee not extended to such who publish horrible blasphemies, 5^{ly}, nor to such who abuse the liberty to the civill injury of others, or disturbance of the publique peace. Lastly, the one was onely for protection of such who differed from the publicque profession, but not for an equall incurragement of them as this is, and such onely who agreed with the publicque profession in matters of faith, though they differed in matters of worshipp, discipline, were alike capable of any civill trust or publicque maintenance; whereas this not onely protecketh, but incurrageth Antrinitarians, Antiscripturists, Antesabatharians.

6. When this same Parliament made the tender of this Union into one goverment unto Scotland, the people there did know and

see the Articles of the Christian religion approved by both Howses after advise had with the Assembly of Divines, and printed by their order in June 1648, setting downe the heads of the Christian faith. In the 20 chapter—what is true liberty of conscience. In the 25 chapter—the duty of the civill magistracy to keepe the truiths of God pure and intire, to suppres all blasphemies and herisies, to prevent all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline, to observe all the ordinances of God, and preserve peace in the Church. Moreover, they saw the Parliament's approbation of the Directory of Worship and Catichisme, and many ordinances anent the Church goverment, and they saw an Act of Parliament, May [2], anno domini 1648, for punishing blasphemies and herisies, and another Act, past August the 9th, 1650, for punishing atheisticall blasphemies and execrable [1] opinions. All which joyned with Dr. Owen's tractat concerning tolleration published by this Parliament's order, wherein hee distinguisheth between the protection of erroniouse persons and the incurragement of them, the one as lawable, the other as unlawable in the Magistracy, and the Confession of Faith published by the Congregationall churches, with the preface which semeth to hould forth the same, as alsoe to distinguish betweene errors against the foundation and other erroures, and the error and practises of these called Quakers, which hath been knowne but of very late in Scotland, made them apprehend that the Parliament, who had soe often declared, covenanted, and engaged for the worke of Reformation, and for the maintenance of a godly magistracy and ministrie, and have againe made the same declaration the 7th of May last, would never admitt such a proviso to bee put uppon Scotland in the Act of Union, by which men would bee alik incuraged in sin as in duty, in errour as in truith, in workes of the flesh as in workes of the spirritt, in false worship, in false doctrine, which the Scripture calls the worshipp and doctrine of divills, as in the worshipp and doctrine of God.

7. The takeing away of these Acts of Parliament will cast the

[1] MS. 'excecible.'

body of the common people in that nation loose into prophainesse, lycenciousnes, and many gross scandalls, Sabboth-breaking, contempt of ordinances, dispiseing magistracy and ministry, from which they are restrained by these acts, and by magistrates in burghes and justice in parishes, sitting in Church sessions joyneing with their censures and exchangeing their civill penalties imposed on scandalls, and soe would cast downe much of the reformation established in that nation, and turne it to deformation, and not onely greive the spiritts, but alienate the hearts of many of that nation from the governours and goverment.

For these and many other reasons of the like nature not unknowne to the Honorable members of the Comittee, this reasonable desire is humbly presented, that noe clause bee put in the Bill of Union to take away any of the lawes established in Scotland concerning theire religion, untill first that nation bee present by their representatives in Parliament, and heard concerneing the same, and that noe petition from any few persons without warrant from any burgh, country, or incorporacion in the nation in matters that concernes the whole be regarded, but that either the following proviso be inserted :—

It is provided that religion and the worke of the reformation in doctrine, worship, discipline, and goverment, according as the same is established in Scotland, shalbee noe waies prejudiced or restrained [1] in the free exercise thereof (with Christian moderacion) according to the word of God by this present union.

It is enacted that the present Union shall bee understood to bee of and concerneing the civill liberties and priviledges of the Comonwealth and noe otherwise; for rather then this proviso bee inserted, it will bee lesse unsatisfieing to Scotland to let the whole clause ly over unexprest in this Act of Union, as it was in the former Act, untill Scotland have their owne commissioners sitting in Parliament, debateing and resolveing concerneing the same, provided that in the meane time they bee ruled by their owne lawes in the administration of justice.

[1] MS. 'reckned.'

The Council of State to General Monck

H. f. 92. Sir,

The Councill, considering that many persons have uppon occasion of the late insurrection been secured, whome although there might bee sufficient cause to continue under restraint, yet, the Councill being willing that such of them against whome yow have noe perticular charge or information may bee discharged, they doe desire therefore that those that have been by yow secured onely upon suspition, and to prevent their joyneing themselves to those that had already taken armes and were in actuall rebellion against the Parliament, may bee set at liberty uppon their paroll or security (or both, as yow shall see cause), with sufficient surties for their peaceable demeanor, and that they will act nothing in the future to the prejudice of the Parliament or Comonwealth; and as for those against whome yow have any perticular charge or information, yow are forthwith to transmitt to the Councill such informations, with all papers relateing to them, and to secure the persons untill the Councill, upon consideration of the causes of their restraint, shall signifie theire pleasure concerning them.

Signed in the name and by order of the Councill of State appointed by authority of Parliament,

RICH^D. SALWEY, President.

White Hall,
September 20th
1659.

Newsletter

xxxi. f. 217. *September* 22, 1659.—The House hath satt all day (and, itt's thought, will nott rise till to morrow morning) in debate of a representacion and addresse of the army, signed by many officers in the countrie, and sent from Cheshire to bee signed heere;[1]

[1] *Commons' Journals*, vii. 784. The *Humble Petition and Proposals of the Officers under the Command of the Right Honourable Lord Lambert in the late Northern Expedition* is printed in Edward Phillips's *Continuation of Baker's*

wherin itt is (amongst other thinges) desired that the Lord Fleetwood may bee made Generall, Lord Lambert Major Generall, Generall Disbrowe Lieutenant Generall of horse, and Colonel Berry Commissary Generall. The House hath sent for Colonel Cobbett, Colonel Ashfeild, and Colonel Pearson (who have nott yett bin call'd in) to know their pleasures. The Lord Fleetwood this afternoone delivered a copy of itt to the House; many are the feares, and more are the hopes that (after soe many signall mercies) the Lord will nott leave nor forsake us. G. M.

The Officers at Derby to General Monck

My Lord, xxxi. f. 228.

The inclosed is a paper of proposalls, unanimusly agreed on by the officers of the army that were lately ingaged in the suppression of the insurrections in Cheshire, Lancashire, &c., to be tendered to the Generall Councill of officers at London; we have taken the freedome to present them to your Lordshipp['s] consideration to prevent future surprisalls. We cannott dowbt of your Honour's countenance, haveing had soe many yeares' experience of your Honour's fidelity to the publique, and readinesse in the pursuite and prosecution of those ends and principles which we have formerly contended for. Your Lordshipp will pardon the libertye we assume upon this occasion, and if your Lordshipp thincke fitt to make any returne, 'tis thought meet that you doe itt with all expedicion, and to direct to Lieutenant Colonel Duckenfeild or Majour Creed at London, wether they are goeing to the Generall Councill of officers, by appointment from the Councill of officers mett together in this towne.[1] This paper is to be presented very suddanly to the Parliament,

Chronicle, p. 676, ed. 1670. For comments on the proceedings relative to this petition, see Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, i. 479, 482; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 578; Redmayne's *True Narrative of the Proceedings in Parliament, Council of State, &c., from September 22 until this present Time*, 1659, 4to, p. 1.

[1] Derby.

This is all the trouble we have to give your Lordshipp, more then to begg your pardon, and doe subscribe our selves

Your Lordshipp['s] humble servants,

Rich. Elton.	Will. Mitchell.
Ric. Creed.	Tho: Diggelye.
Hen. Davis.	Hen: Brightman.
Hiero. Sanckey.	Tho: Wright.
Robert Browne.	Will. Revell.
Josia Sabbarton.	Ga: Wayne.
Jos. Straingwayes.	Jas. Wright.
	Rich: Francke.[1]

General Monck to the Commanders in Scotland

li. f. 92. Sir,

Understanding that there is a petition to the Parliament signed by some officers of the feild and Captains at London about some perticulars, I likewise understand that they have written to some officers in this country to signifie the same; yow know it

[1] With this letter was sent a copy of the petition referred to in the last letter, which is not reproduced here, as it is already in print. Another paper (*Clarke MSS.* xxxi. 2176) gives the following account of its genesis: 'Upon my Lord Lambert's returne through Darbyshire out of Cheshire there was a meeting of about 50 officers at Darby, though his Lordshippe was not informed of their desires drawne upp and subscribed. Colonel Sankey, Colonel Michell, Major Creede, and others were appointed to modell a draught of a peticion and addresse, which was affected in 5 heades.' This is evidently extracted from Colonel Michell's letter to William Clarke of September 24, 1659, printed in the Report on Mr. Leyborne-Popham's MSS. p. 128. Phillips says that after the petition was drawn up, Colonel Duckenfield was sent to London to acquaint the General Council of Officers with the proceedings at Derby. The petition itself, directed to Ashfield, Cobbet, and Lieut.-Col. Duckenfield, followed later. 'And at the same time, when this was sent to London, an officer was despatched with a duplicate of it to General Monck, and a letter with it, to desire his concurrence and that the officers of his army might join with them. Which letter was subscribed by fourteen of the chief officers employed under Lambert' (Baker, p. 676). A summary of this letter is given in Mr. Leyborne-Popham's MSS., but without the names appended (p. 128). It was probably written on September 25, or thereabouts.

hath been alwaies against my way to signe any petitions at all, either to the Parliament or Generall, from the forces heere, and I am still of the same judgement. Therefore if any should write to yow to perswade yow to signe any petitions to the Parliament, I doe desire and expect yow will bee carefull that there bee none signed by the officers of your regiment without my consent, which is all at present from

Your very loveing friend and servant,

G. M.[1]

Dalkeith, 29th September, 1659.

The Speaker to General Monck

Sir, xxxii. f. 6b.

Your letters have bin read in Parliament, and the expressions of your duty and faithfullnes to this Parliament and Comonwealth are very acceptable. By their command I returne you the harty thanks of the Parliament, and lett you know the high esteeme they have of the services with which soe much valour, prudence, and faithfullnes you have performed.[2]

[1] About the same date Monck wrote to the Speaker, informing him of what he had done. Bordeaux, writing to Mazarin, October $\frac{1}{11}$, says that Monck 'wrote two days ago to inform the Parliament that he had prevented the petition of the Northern brigade from being subscribed by the troops under his command (Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, i. 498). Similarly Samborne, writing to Hyde on October 14, says Monck 'writ to the Parliament very lately that his officers had received addresses from the officers here, and thereupon had a meeting, but he had strictly forbidden any more assemblies, with some other compliments to the Parliament, which encouraged them in their high voting against Lambert, etc.' (*Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 581). The letter referred to does not appear to have survived. It was probably written about September 30 or October 1, for it was read in Parliament on October 5, when the House ordered that the Speaker should write a letter to Monck, 'taking notice of the Parliament's good acceptance of his faithfulness and expressions of the same by his letters and otherwise.' This letter, drawn up by Whitelocke, was sent off on October 7, and duly reached Monck, whose reply is dated October 13. The reply, which reached London on October 17, four days after the expulsion of the Parliament by Lambert, is printed in Redmayne's *True Narrative* (p. 22).

[2] Bordeaux, writing to Mazarin, October $\frac{1}{11}$, 1659, says: 'Monck wrote two days

The desire of your letters are readily condisended to, and you may assure your selfe and the officers and souldiers under your command of returnes of favours from the Parliament answerable to your merritt. This being all I have in command, I rest

Your assured loving frind,

Wm. Lenthall, Speaker.

October 7th, 1659.

Newsletters

xxxii. f. 17. *October* 13.—Yesterday the Howse voted that the comissions of Collonel Lambert, Disbrowe, Berry, Cobbett, Ashfeild, Kelsey, Packer, Creede, and Colonel Barrowe voyde, and that they bee incapable of any military imployment. They likewise passed an act to enable the Lord Fleetwood, Generall Monck, Lieut.-Generall Ludlowe, Sir Arthur Heslirigg, Colonel Morley, Major Generall Overton, Colonel Walton to bee commissioners for mannageing the affaires of the army.[1]

ago to inform the Parliament that he had prevented the petition of the Northern brigade from being subscribed by the troops under his command' (Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, i. 498). The letter referred to, which seems to be lost, was probably written about October 1, for on October 5 Parliament ordered that the Speaker should write a letter to Monck, 'taking notice of the Parliament's good acceptance of his faithfulness and expressions of the same by his letters and otherwise.' Whitelocke was to draw it up (*Commons' Journals*, vii. 792; cf. Baker's *Chronicle*, p. 681; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 581). This was done, and the letter signed by Lenthall and dated October 7 duly reached Monck. His reply, dated October 13, appears to have reached London October 17, four days after the interruption of the Parliament (Redmayne's *True Narrative*, p. 22). It is not either in Toland's collection of Monck's letters or in the *Old Parliamentary History*.

[1] The origin of this breach was as follows: After the suppression of the Derby petition by the Parliament the officers drew up a vindication of their conduct and of the contents of their petition, entitled *The Humble Representation and Petition of the Officers of the Army*, which was presented to the House on October 5, 1659. It is printed in Redmayne's *True Narrative* (p. 4), and in Baker's *Chronicle* (p. 679). One clause asked that any persons who cast scandalous imputations upon the Army might be duly punished. This was directed against Haslerig (Baker, p. 680). Another asked that Fleetwood's commission as commander-in-chief should be renewed. Parliament took the petition into consideration, and passed votes in favour of several of its requests, but at the

The last night a greate party of the forces heere weere in armes, and this day the Speaker and most of the Members were kept out of the Parliament by all the army, except Colonel Moss and Colonel Morleyes regiment, who continued in the Hall till fower at night as a guard to some few Members that got into the Howse, till an order came from the Councill to the commissioners of the army then in the Howse for drawing them and some forces upp in Southwark to their quarters, which was obeyed; and noe sooner drew they out of Westminster Hall but the Lord Lambert appeared at the head of them, whome they received with greate acclamations and severall volleyes, though this morning part of Colonel Morleyes regiment was commanded to fire at his Lordshipp, but they refused. What the next goverment will bee a short time will declare it.

G. M.

Newsletter

October 15.—Sithence my last of the 13th instant the doore of the Parliament was lockt up, and 3 companies attend there to xxxii. f. 19.

same time vindicated the members attacked, resolving that they had done no more than their duty in informing the House of the Derby petition. Meanwhile the officers in London appealed to the troops elsewhere in England and to the armies in Scotland and Ireland for support. One of these letters, signed by Lambert and eight other officers, was presented to Parliament, which replied by annulling the commissions of the nine officers in question (October 12). A specimen of these circulars is printed in Thurloe (vii. 755), and a slightly different version, addressed to General Monck, is printed in Redmayne's *True Narrative*, p. 14. It asked Monck to communicate the petition to his officers, and to get their subscriptions to it, and forward them to Fleetwood's secretary. Monck replied, in a letter dated October 18, with a refusal. 'Our force,' said he, 'is very small, and our enemy very great; and I shall be unwilling to set anything on foot that may breed jealouses amongst us. And finding many officers decline the signing all papers of that nature, and rather propense to declare their testimony to the Parliament's authority, and their absolute adherence thereunto, I have thought it my duty to suspend the execution of your desires.'

In the same way Colonel Overton and the garrison of Hull, in a letter dated October 11, also refused to send in their signatures, concluding, as Monck did, with an exhortation to unity and submission to the authority of Parliament. Both letters are printed in Redmayne (pp. 14, 16); cf. Baker, 681.

keepe any from attempting to gett into the House. Yesterday and this day the Councill of State sate, and soe did the Councill of Officers, passed this vote, vizt.: Ordered, That the person that excersises the cheife powre and command in the army bee ordered to withdrawe the guards at the Parliament House and parts adjacent, to the end the Speaker and members of Parliament may return to the free exercize of the Legislative power and their duety; but the Councill of Officers refuse to give obedience thereunto. The said Councill yesterday declared unanimously that they owned the Lord Fleetewood to be the Lieut.-Generall and comander in cheife of the army, and such of the army as obey any other comand to bee proceeded against as muteneers. They suspended the commissions of Coll. Morley, and his Lieut. Coll., and Major Evelyn who the Lord Lambert dismounted at the head of his Troope. Coll. Saunders, and his Major, and Coll. Alured withdrew [from] their Councill by order. They have sent to the Militia to put themselves to a posture of defence, and are preparing a declaration. The Councill of State this day gave 200*l.* a peace to Sir Aurther Haslerig and Coll. Morley for the great paynes and charge they have bin at Thursday last, and 2 months' pay to 28 souldiers of Coll. Sidenham's regiment that run to Coll. Morley's. When I sent you a pretty large narrative of matters in May last, I did therein intimate the grand dissatisfaction that was taken by displaceing of officers without heareing of them, or laying anything to theire charge; and though the then humers gave way to it, yet I ever thought it would rise upp in judgement against the Parliament; for that way of proceeding and discontents that have risen thereuppon hath been a greate cause of the alteracion of the present power, and the locking upp the Parliament's doores, and the turneing back the Speaker and Members on Thursday last, not permitting them to sitt. Some votes the Parliament passed the day before, which ripeneth the discontent, which put the army in a suddain posture to give an interruption to the Parliament, which the army calls an absolute dissolution; and I doe beleeve there is not any likelyhood

of their sitting againe, the discontents of the army are soe very greate to the Parliament's high proceedings against many of them. The army, at the Generall Councill of Officers (which was much promoted by my Lord Lambert), chose my Lord Fleetwood to bee Commander in Cheife, who is now to issue out commissions as hee cause [choose?]; and Coll. Hacker and severall other Collonells are suspended from theire commands. The perticular circumstances are soe many concerning the last transaction as it will take upp more time to write then at present I can afford, yet I shall register them in writeing for the good of posterity. I pray you, present my humble service to Generall Monck, of whom I have a high esteeme. I wish it were in my power to serve him, and especially for preserveing of disciplin in the army against agitateing and subscriptions without his consent or consent of the Generall Officers.

Lieutenant-General Fleetwood to General Monck

My Lord, xxxii. f. 33b.

I know the actions heere will seeme very strange to you, and soe they have bin to us, further then what was conceived by many a necessity of Providence leading to what hath bin done: while we consider men, it may onely give the further occacion of division amongst us; but if our eyes are to the Lord, a little silence surely may be expected, and that as men wee are called unto, besides what our dutie is as Christians: our owne divisions will be our ruine, which hetherto the Lord hath greately prevented, though much of late hath bin attempted to divide us.

The present posture of affaires is much as when Colonel Cobbett left us, to whose informacion I must referr you; though I confesse I did not read it, yett I hope it was justly done by those persons who knew matter of fact. Wee have a cause to ingage in which certainly is more pretious then all other concernments whatsoever, and bee confident if any thing bee more upon our harts then that wee shall have shame enough; but if integrety bee in the midst of

us, scandalls and reproaches cast upon us will returne with shame upon those who make it their bussinesse to speake evill of us. The Lord is pleased to give the army very greate union, though as to what is intended and resolved upon there is noe conclusion yett taken I know. In the discourse of what was done this day in the Generall Councill it will be wondred that your Lordshipp's concernment nor Lieut. Generall Ludlow's was not considered; but the occation was much this, the present setlement of the army heere was the first and most immediate consideracion looked upon to have a dispatch given to it; but bee confident heere is that esteeme for you that there will bee a full and due encouragement to your Lordshipp, and therefore lett mee have that confidence from you as not to think I shall bee either unfaithfull or unthankfull to you, but would you please to repose a confidence in mee, and lett mee fully know your mind and desires, and you shall find mee

Your affectionate, faithfull frind and
humble servant,
CHARLES FLEETWOOD.

Wallingford House,
18th October,
59.

Extracts from the Order Book of General Monck

xlix. f. 98. *October* 19, 1659.—Order to Colonel Timothy Wilkes. That wheras his Lordshippe is informed that the Parliament of England hath bin interrupted and broken uppe, and being the officers of the army have engaged to bee true and faithfull to them, and have now broken their faith with them, and there being many in this country which I finde have nott bin faithfull to the Parliament's interest; and therfore for the more security of these forces to the Parliament and of our liberties and religion, these are to aucthorize and require him to displace such officers of his regiment of whose fidelity to the Parliament hee doubts, and to place others in their

roomes of whose faithfulnesse hee has assurance, and to returne his Lordshippe the names of those hee dismisses, of such as hee places in their roomes.

Commission. That being by Act of Parliament, bearing date the 11th day of October instant, appointed to bee one of the seaven commissioners which are to command the forces in England and Scotland under the Parliament, and there being none of the said commissioners present in Scotland butt his Lordshippe, hee hath therfore thought fitt to displace some disatisfied officers that are nott for the interest of the Parliament and Commonwealth, and amongst others ; and doe heerby appoint to bee of companie, and to command as of the same, and the officers and souldiers of the said company are to observe him as their officer untill the Parliament's pleasure bee further knowne.

Lettre to the Governour of Berwick. That being appointed, &c., to authorize him for the better security of the garrison of Berwick to the Parliament, to apprehend all such officers belonging to the said garrison of whose fidelity to the Parliament hee has just cause to doubt, or that have declar'd themselves against the interest of the Parliament or Commonwealth, and to send them in safe custody to Captain Thomas Johnson of his Lordshippe's regiment of horse att Anderwick, to bee secur'd till further orders, and hee is to place other officers in their roomes, of whose faithfulnesse hee has assurance.

Lettre to . . . . That understanding that there is a part of the army that have broken uppe the Parliament, by which meanes all the whole people of England are like to loose their liberties, if honest men doe nott stand by them and the nation in this juncture of time, therefore I thought fitt to acquaint you that itt is our resolution in Scotland to stand by them, and I shall desire you to repaire to the garrison of Carlile, and to take the charge of itt, for which purpose I have sent you the inclosed order. I know you have power enough with the companies there, and truly hee would expresse much affection to the Parliament and

good people of England in doing of itt, and shew himself an honest man therin; and therfore his Lordshippe must perswade him to doe itt, which is, &c.

These are to authorise and require you to take into your charge the garrison of Carlile, and to displace such officers as will nott bee faithfull to the Parliament, and putt others in their places, &c.[1]

Lettre to Captain Coulson. That understanding that the Parliament is broken uppe by some officers who . . . . his Lordshippe cannott conceive otherwise butt their attempting an action of soe great concernement against the priviledges of the nation can bee to noe other end then setting uppe themselves, and therfore the officers heere have consider'd of itt, and his Lordshippe hath thought fitt to write to my Lord Fleetwood and my Lord Lambert to desire them that the Parliament may bee called to sitt againe, that the country may nott loose their priviledges, and to keepe us from running into confusion. What effect those lettres will have wee know nott, butt wee are resolved, all on this side the water, to stand for the governement by the Parliament without a King, Kingeshippe, single person, or House of Lords, and for the liberties of the people and a godly ministery. His Lordshippe thought fitt to acquaint him with this, least hee might bee missinform'd by some others, and his Lordshippe desires him to acquaint the officers of his regiment with itt, and to send his Lordshippe his resolution whether hee intends to joyne in itt or noe. His Lordshippe thinkes wee are bound to doe itt, both in duty towards God and our country, [and] to declare as they have, being wee shall bee out of hopes ever heerafter to see a Parliament unlesse wee stand to itt now; and therfore his Lordshippe desires him to acquaint his officers, and to send the names of those that are nott free to itt, and hee shall give him orders what shall bee done with them.[2]

[1] To Captain Farmer (Baker, p. 687) or to Captain Deane (Gumble, p. 137).

[2] Monck announced his resolution to the world in a series of letters and declarations. On October 20 he wrote, or had drawn up by Clarke, three letters

The Officers at Whitehall to General Monck

October 20, 1659.—Wee did communicate to you by Colonel Cobbett the passage and proceedings that lately have been amongst us, since which wee have in a Generall Councell of Officers agreed and resolved upon a paper, in which wee have owned and acknowledged the Lord Fleetwood to be Commander in Cheife of the forces of this Comonwealth, and have included some other particulars that wee conceived of moment and advantage for the settlement and order of the army at such a time as this, when nothing seemes more desireable then to have a good understanding and union among our selves, by meanes whereof we hope (through the blessing of the Lord) not onely to frustrate the wicked designes and practizes of the common enemyes, who no doubt wilbe busie enough to disturbe us, but [to] be enabled to maintaine the publique peace, and xxii. f. 42.

—one to the Speaker, the second to Fleetwood, the third to Lambert. 'I am resolved,' he told Lenthall, 'by the grace and assistance of God, as a true Englishman, to stand to and assert the liberty and authority of Parliament; and the Army here (praised be God!) is very courageous and unanimous, and I doubt not but to give a good account of this action to you. I have, according to the Act of the 11th of this instant, being constituted a commissioner for the government of the Army, put out such persons as would not act according to your commission. I call God to witness that the assertion of a Commonwealth is the only intent of my heart.' To Fleetwood and Lambert he wrote in terms of rebuke, warning the latter that 'the nation of England will not endure any arbitrary power, neither will any true Englishman in the Army.' He also published a *Declaration of the Commander-in-Chief in Scotland and the officers under his command*, which was signed by 'William Clarke,' in the name and by the appointment of the Commander-in-Chief and the Officers of the Army in Scotland. In *A Letter from a Person of Quality at Edinburgh*, dated October 25, it is said that although this was published in the name of the officers, 'none was at the contriving of it but himself, Wilkes, Morgan, Emerson, Smyth, and Gumble.' It was accompanied by a *Declaration of the Officers of the Army in Scotland to the Churches of Christ in the Three Nations*, which is said by the same authority to have been written by Collins, one of the chaplains of the Army. The three letters and the two declarations were all printed as pamphlets, and are to be found reprinted in Redmayne's *True Narrative*, pp. 24–31, and the letters are numbers iii., vi., vii. in Toland's *Collection of Monck's Letters* (1714, 8vo.)

endeavour such a settlement in the governement as that the affaire of the Comonwealth may be steddily and prudently managed. This is a great worke, and wee acknowledge wee are weake and insufficient to undertake in it; but our eyes are towards the Lord, and wee trust hee will blesse us with his presence in it, and wee have our hopes and confidence that you will contribute the best helpe and service that lyes in your hand in these things, being well assured of your love and affeccion towards the honest and sober interest of this Comonwealth, as wee doe truely assure you of that reall affeccion and love wee have towards you, and a valuable esteeme of the many faithfull services you have undergon amongst us. Sir, the Generall Councill of officers have ordered that the aforesaid paper should bee sent to the severall regiments and guarrisons in the three nations, for as many as are free to subscribe the same, and they are sent by this messenger for the forces in Scotland, and a copie thereof you will finde here inclosed; and not doubting but it will receive a like good acceptation with the forces in Scotland as it hath here with us, and that your peace and unity wilbe maintained and strengthened, as wee blesse the Lord wee have grounds to hope for a good increase thereof amongst ourselves, wee commend you to the Lord, and assure you that wee are

Your affectionate freinds and servants,

J. LAMBERT.
JOHN DISBROWE.
EDW. SALMON.
JOHN DABRON.
THOMAS TALBOT.
JEREMIAH CAMFEILD.
WILLIAM PACKER.
THOMAS KELSEY.
OLIVER EDGE.
DANIELL AXTELL.
JEREMIAH SANKEY.

Whitehall,
October the 20th,
1659.

General Monck's Order for a Fast

October 22, 1659.—Wheras it hath pleased the Lord in his providence to call us forth to assert the liberties and lawes of these nations and priviledges of Parliament, according to our engagements and solemne protestacions, and not knowing how farre wee may be drawne forth in this good cause, wee have thought it our duty to invite all Christians, whose hearts are raised to engage in so righteous a quarrell, to seeke the presence and direccion of God, who is the Lord of Hosts and the great Councellor, that he may goe before us, and be in the midst of us, and blesse our Councells and forces; and as we recommend it to the private prayers of all our Christian freinds, so I doe also appoint at Edinburgh, in the English Congregacion, on Wednesday, being the 26th of this instant, for a day of fasting and humiliacion, to seeke the Lord for his blessing in this great affaire. Given under my hand at Edinburgh the 22 of October 1659. G. M. xxxii. f. 33.

Letter to General Monck [?]

October 22, 1659.—Before I came out of Berwick Col. Cobbett came into the post-house, [with] his servant and one Browne formerly belonging to the excize in Leith, where hee was secured. Hee came from the officers in London with an expresse on Saboath day last.[1] xxxii. f. 45b.

[1] Cobbett apparently started on October 16. He took with him an account of the late revolution, drawn up by the officers and signed by Fleetwood, Desborough, Berry, Mason, Kelsey, Salmon, Duckenfield, and Camfield, on behalf of the rest of the officers. This letter, which begins, 'We hold it a duty incumbent upon us, in order to the preserving the peace of the Commonwealth,' Monck was requested to communicate to his officers. It is reprinted in Redmayne's *Narrative* (p. 35), but not dated there. The answer of the officers at Edinburgh, dated October 27, is in the same collection (p. 38). It begins: 'With how great reluctancy we put pens to paper against you, our sad hearts . . . can bear us witness.'

The same day that this answer was drawn up the General Council of the Officers of the Army assembled at Wallingford House published a declaration

General Monck to Mr. Bridge and Mr. Brinsley

Edinburgh, October 24, 1659.

xxxii. f. 41. Reverend Sir,

You will receive the resolution of the armie under my command by these inclosed papers, and you will also see my care and tendernesse to avoyd the effusion of blood; but in the asserting such a glorious cause for the vindication of the priviledges of Parliament and rights of the people, I could not but appeare, not without a summons from God, my conscience, and the Countrey. And truly, Sir, I do judge our religion in danger, wee haveing brought such a reproach thereupon by our apostacy and treachery that never was such a wound given to the holy name of God. I doe looke upon the liberty of the Churches and the maintenance of a Gospell ministery as my grand motive to this worke, and recommend all to your prayers, and desire you also to make this as publick as you can to all Christian freinds; the assistance of the Saints, next to the presence of God, wee esteeme our greatest strength.

To Mr. Bridge and Mr. Brinsley.

Lieut.-General Fleetwood to General Monck

lii. f. 2b. My Lord,

I have sent this bearer, Collonell Talbott, unto you,[1] knowing him to bee a hearty lover of your Lordship as well as a freind

intended as an appeal to the nation, and as a public vindication of their conduct in putting a stop to the sitting of Parliament. It is also reprinted by Redmayne (p. 42), and was published in pamphlet form.

On Cobbett's arrest, see Baker, p. 687. 'It was seasonably done,' says the continuator; 'for if he had been permitted to pass, the opinion which was had of him by the soldiers might much have hindered the General's proceedings.'

[1] This letter was written by Fleetwood in reply to Monck's letter of October 20. According to Phillips, however, writing as usual on the authority of Clarges, Monck's letter did not arrive till the evening of October 28. Yet this answer is plainly dated October 25, and Monck, in his reply to it on November 3, mentions

to myselfe, and by him I shall deale plainely and freely with you, to lett you know how much I am surprised at yours, which by your messenger I received from you. I much wounder you should put your selfe in a posture of opposition to your old freinds upon a bare report, for I am sure you have not received a right state of the case; I shall therefore give you an accompt how affaires have been amongst us. I must lett you knowe, there was noe resolucion to give disturbance to the Parliament sitting upon the Wednesday morning, untill that night that after the Howse was upp, Sir Arthur Hassilrige, Collonell Morley, and Collonell Walton had ordered two regiments of foote and one of horse, in whom they thought they could most confide, to bee drawen together into Westminster Hall, who were put into a posture of opposition unto the rest of their fellow officers and soldiers; such a sudden resolucion and management thereof put the rest of the officers of the Army into a sudden revolucion, that to prevent blood and the devision of this Army it was judged necessary for the forces to draw together, in order to the preserveing of the peace and disappointment of designes to give disturbance, which accordingly was done. The Councill, haveing a full accompt of this action, thought fit to command those Gentlemen to retire, as alsoe those

the date of Fleetwood's letter. On this point, therefore, Phillips is apparently wrong.

On the receipt of Monck's letter, says Phillips, 'Fleetwood, Lambert, and Desborough immediately met at Whitehall in much confusion, and about twelve at night they sent Major Haynes to desire Clarges to come to them, who, when he came, after some question of his knowledge of the General's proceedings (to which he made very wary answer), they desired him to go to Scotland with Colonel Talbot (whose regiment was then at Edinburgh), to prevail with Monck for a treaty of mediation, to prevent effusion of blood. They said they chose Talbot to accompany him because he was very grateful to the General. Clarges was very glad of this opportunity to get away (for he feared to be much worse treated), and they were so pressing for his departure that they allowed him but three hours' preparation for his journey.' Talbot and Clarges arrived at Edinburgh on November 2 (Baker, pp. 685, 688). They started to return to London on November 8 (*Clarke MSS.* li. 81). Clarges on his way negotiated on Monck's behalf with Fairfax and Colonel Rossiter (Baker, pp. 690-692).

forces which they had gott together, who had dispersed most of them, although that order had not come, haveing received satisfaccion in their being led into a snare. I shall not take uppon mee at present to give an accompt what led to this action, being intended by a Declaration to bee published, which I hope will give all peaceable-minded people satisfaction; and let not mistaken earnestnes ingage you in a designe of blood, which I am confident the Lord will beare a [testimony] against you in, if you undertake it. Yow are pleased to direct a Declaration to the Churches, of whome I doe not think there are two in England will owne your Lordshippe in what you are about to doe; noe, the sober godly Presbeterian and other good people in the Nation who were not ingaged in Charles Stewart's designe will abhorr the action. My Lord, I love and honour you, but give mee leave to say, noe man of sober principles throughout this Nation will otherwise interpret this action of yours then a way to bring Charles Stewart amongst us againe, though I hope not intended by you. If it bee thought adviseable to [recall] this Parliament againe, I am sure you take a course direct against it by divideing the army, which certainly noe man can suppose a readier way then that to begin a civill warr in these Nations, and give them an advantage to rise, who you cannot but know hanker [?] for all such occasions. And shall the army in Scotland give the advantage to that partie by their putting themselves into a posture of opposicion to their brethren of the Army of England?

Certainly [neither] your Lordshipp nor any good man whatsoever spreading this case before the Lord can satisfie themselves thus to ingage. If there bee such an earnest desire of the Parliament's returne, shurely you should have laboured to satisfie yourselfe in the grounds of their disturbance, and, like brethren, have sent some of your owne number to have reasoned the case with us; but to conclude us as guilty, and threaten us with blood, is a strange way of proceeding amongst freinds. Wee have committed our cause, I hope, to the Lord, and, if wee bee in a wrong, I trust hee

will convince us; but at present let mee tell yow that I think there hath not beene more unanimity and satisfaction throughout the Nations in any one action that hath falne out in severall yeares past then in what is done. As to what yow say concerneing our repentance for our late apostacyes, I shall onely say this, that I hope there was and is a due sence thereof; but certainly in our calling this Parliament together it was well knowne what were the arguments that did invite and incurrage [us] thereunto. Nay assurances [were] given of those [in] whome there was a confidence of their influence in that Howse, that what wee had proposed should bee effected, which how little thereof hath beene done I need not say. Although I know it is not fitting for any to impose uppon a Parliament, yet give mee leave to say that this Parliament soe long laid aside, and haveing soe many severall Parliaments by the choyce of the people acted since, by which, as hath been acknowledged by them who were the cheife in owneing this Howse, that by that consent of the people's choyce the authority of this Parliament did cease; yet such was the honour wee did beare to the rememberance of this Parliament that wee were willing to improve any part thereof to give a setlement to these poore Nations, and to have the reputacion of it themselves. And in the confidence of that perswasion that what you as well as wee had proposed should bee granted, they were invited to sitt againe; and instead thereof what hath been done, but to undo whatsoever hath been done for these six yeares last past? And though wee are farr from the thoughts of returneing to that forme of Goverment of a single person, yet there weere many things then transacted, as well relateing to the good of this cause as [to] persons, properties, [etc.] which now is at a loose. I am one amongst others who desire to retaine a due rememberance of those great things which this Parliament hath don, and therefore shall forbeare to speake any thing which may too much reflect upon them. If your Lordshipp bee unsatisfied with what wee have done, send any of your number in whome you may most confide in, and I doubt not but

wee shall give or receive satisfaction—nay, I have that value for you that if you please I can freely meete you as farr as Yorke, in order to give you satisfaction. Wee shall (I hope) bee led into any thing which may bee for the peace and setlement of these poore Nations, but through the Lord's gratious presence and assistance wee shall not bee forced unto anything; and therefore as yow tender the peace of these poore Nations, the good of this cause wee have beene soe long contending for, and the prevention of a further effusion of blood, let mee begg you to refuse and decline every thing which may cause further destractions and devisions amongst us. As to what yow mention of your authority in constituteing officers and removeing, as being one of the seaven Commissioners, I am sure there is nothing in that Act will countenance you in any of these actions, for noe one can by vertue of that Act doe anything, the Quorum being three, but besides the powers therein are wholly subbordinate to the Councill of State, which satt this day, and would noe doubt of it have discountenanced this way of proceeding had they been advertised of it in theire sitting. And for you to judge our designe to bee to sett up arbitrary power, I shall make the same earnest request unto you that yow are pleased to doe to mee, that yow would not bee deluded by the specious pretences of any ambitious or Malitious persons whatsover, and if blood bee shed I feare yow will not quit your selves of being guilty thereof. Wee have noe base, unworthy, selfish designes, but the desires of our hearts are that these Nations may bee setled in a free Commonwealth, to the greatest security of the interest of this people; when wee declyne that yow will have wherewith to justifie yow in such a case. My Lord, I have noe designe uppon yow, but the tendernesse of love I have to yow and other friends with yow makes mee thus large, and that, if the Lord please, wee may not by our divisions give a ruine to these poore Nations. The Lord direct you to doe that which shall bee right in his sight is all from

Your very humble servant,

25th October 1659. CHARLES FLEETWOOD.

General Monck to the Officers at Whitehall

Gentlemen, xxxii. f. 54b.

Wee have received your letter of the 19th instant, with the inclosed printed paper containing nine resolves or agreements touching the Government of the army, and to such of them wee have returned you our distinct answer, hoping that if you shall find wee have reason and conscience to plead for us (as wee are verily of opinion wee have), you will bee soe farr from pressing subscription of them uppon us that you will retract it your selves, or out of Christian tendernesse to affoard us such satisfaction as may endeavour us to joyne with you in it, of which satisfaction wee acknowledge our selves as yett altogeather destitute.

To the preface wee shall onely say this, that wee are as senceable of the distracted condition of the Commonwealth (to the greefe of our soules wee speak it) as any man living, and shall as hartily and freely endeavour to cement the same, and that with peculiar relacion to those of the army as well as of the Commonwealth; but whether the way you have propounded bee warrantable by the word of God, sutable to our engagements, or competent to such an end, our answer to the severall heads of your agreement will sufficiently make manifest.

To the first wee say and unanimously declare that the armies of these Nations, whereof wee are a part, were raised by authority of the present Parliament for the defence of our religion, the lawes and liberties of our Nation, and privilidges of Parliament. From the authority [of Parliament] wee received our Comissions; to the defence thereof wee are by sundry vowes and engagements oblidged, some of them of a very late date; your late petition to them, and solemne acceptance of Comissions from them, are sufficient acknowlidgment that to them belongeth the right of making a Comander-in-Cheife and other subbordinate officers, and therefor

for us to usurpe it were a manifest breach of their acknowledged privilege, and a direct way to subject the Nacion under an arbitrary and tyrannous Goverment, which is the abhorring of our souldiers, and against which wee have hitherto with soe happy successe borne armes.

To the second and third our answer is the same.

To the forth, fifth, and sixth our answer hath a necessary connection with the answer to the first, vizt. That wee cannot prescribe to the Parliament in this case, but shall redily submitt to the method proposed, the same being allowed by Parliament, to whom wee shall readily joyne our desire with you in this perticular, save that the Comissions bee signed by the Speaker, and Generall Monk and Sir Arther Heslerigg bee of the number of Commissioners for approbacion.

To the 7th wee agree it to bee our desire that none but godley men of courage, ability, and good conversacion bee admitted into places of trust in the army.

To the eight wee agree it to bee our desire that noe officers bee displaced but by a Court Marshall, soe farr as it relates to the discipline of warr, but not as it may bee extended to the abridgement of the power of Parliament.

To the ninth wee agree it is to bee our desire that the desipline of the army bee kept inviolably, justice administred, godlines incouraged, and all manner of sin punished.

And although the tye of conscience and duty oblidges us to desent from you in sundry the before mentioned perticulars, as the state of affaires now stands, yett wee solemnly professe that such our desent doth not proceed from any disrespect wee beare to the persons mentioned in your agreement; wee beare great honour and affeccion to most of them, as persons that have eminently affected the rights of their country, countenanced godlines, and been blest of God in soe doeing. Our onely ayme is soe to regulate the authority of such as wee intrust in the army as that it bee commenserate to the Government by a Commonwealth, in which (if

your and our solemne professions to God and man bee worthy of credit) we cannot but agree, and remaine

Your Affectionate Friends and servants.

For the Right Honourable
the Lord Lambert and the rest of the
Officers att Whitehall.[1]

Major-General Lambert to General Monck

Sir, lii. f. 4b

I have received yours from Edinburgh of the 20th instant, wherein I perceive yow are informed that part of the army have put a force upon the Parliament, and that yow judge yourselfe obliged to assert their authority. I am very confident, from the former knowledge I have had of yow, that your intentions are honnest and honourable both to your friends heere, and alsoe [to] the faithfull, honnest interest in these nations, and yet must needs say that these your resolutions cannot tend to that end, and therefore must needs conclude they are grounded uppon misinformations. I doe confes I doe in some measure take blame to my selfe that I have not from time to time given yow an account of proceedings heere, which was not out of my want of respect, but a hope that the unreasonable proceedings of some persons would the more clearely have vindicated the proceedings of the army. But finding the truth of things soe farr hid from yow as yow are perswaded into a good likeing of their wayes, I have thought [it] my duty uppon the accompt of old friendship to endeavoure to give yow a true state of all transaccions heere, and for that purpose shall cheifly referr yow to the bearer, who hath been an eye-

[1] On October 18 the General Council of Officers, sitting at Wallingford House, declared and owned Fleetwood as Commander-in-Chief of all the land forces of the Commonwealth, with Lambert as Major-General and Desborough as Commissary-General of the Horse. This note, with nine resolutions as to the future government of the army, they sent to Monck on October 19, with a request to procure the subscriptions of the officers under his command. Their letter is printed in Thurloe, vii. 766. I have not found a copy of the resolutions themselves. They must be inferred from the answer.

witnesse of the whole, and shall with earnestnes begg of yow to consider those dangers and mischeifes must fall uppon this Common wealth, [if] that the armies thereof [be] devided and come to blowes amongst themselves. May wee not conclude that Scotland (which cost England (as none knowes better then yourselfe) a deare price) will fall into the hands of the late King's party there? And will [they] not have a certaine oppertunity to doe some [mischief] heere? And what good can wee reasonably propose to the Common wealth by or from an ingagement of the army of this nature, which way soever providence determinate it? And therefore out of respect to England, to the army, to your friends, to your selfe and posterity, endeavoure to restore that love and unity which hath hitherto preserved it and the peace of the nations. It is in your hands to doe this without the least prejudice to your selfe or any other with yow; but if you consider your friends heere yow will not finde it soe with them. I shall say noe more at present, but referr to the bearer, who has a true respect for yow, to whome yow give all creditt in what hee shall say unto yow, and to assure you that if yow please to make use of mee I shalbee ready to express my selfe,

Sir,

Your assured loveing friend and very humble servant,

JOHN LAMBERT.

White Hall,
October 25th,
1659.

Extracts from General Monck's Order Book

xlix. f. 100.

October 27, 1659.

Lettres to the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Magistrates of Burghes in the severall shires in Scotland. That his Lordshippe desires they will bee pleased to agree among themselves to send one of their number to meete with his Lordshippe heere att Edinburgh uppon the 15th of November, because his Lordshippe hath speciall occasion to speake with them about some affaires that

concerne the countries att that time. His Lordshippe is likewise to desire one favour from them to gett him serviceable horses as may bee able to carry 200 weight, to inable us for our march, and a man with pack saddles and crookes, for which each man and horse shall have eighteenepence a day, and that these horse may nott faile to bee heere uppon the 20th of November.

Aberdene . . .	15	Lanerkshire . . .	15
Kincardine . . .	6	Renfrew . . .	6
Forfar	12	Linlithgowshire . .	12
Perth	15	Ayre-shire . . .	15
Fyff and Kinros . .	15	Wigton	12
Sterlingshire . . .	12	Dumfreize . . .	12
Clackmannonshire .	4	Berwickshire . . .	12
Dunbartonshire . .	4	Roxburghshire . .	10
Haddington-shire . .	12	Selkirkshire . . .	6
	95	Peblis	6
		Edinburghshire . .	15
			111
			95
			206

Lettre to the Sheriffs. Inclosing the former letters, and desiring them to summon the gentlemen of each shire speedily, and communicate the lettre to them, and to send the letter to the Burghes.

. . . . . .

Lettre to the Magistrates of Berwick. That his Lordshippe thought fitt to desire him, that what excise is raised in their towne for the publique use may bee paid to the souldiers of the garrison, being they cannott receive any monies att present from London, and the excise being to continue till the first of January next.

Lettre to Justice Ogle. That the excise in Northumberland may bee secured for the garrison of Berwick, or the forces in Scotland.

Johnston of Warriston to General Monck

lii. f. 10. Sir,

This comittee being acquainted with the letters to my Lord Fleetwood, wherein yow have expressed your dislike of some laite actions heare relaiteing to the Parliament, and have declared your selfe in such a way as gives an apprehention of some mischeifes which may arise thereby to this Comonwealth, unlesse tymely prevented, and may be laid by our comon enemy as a ground of a civill warre (which God divert) amongst ous, this comittee as they find the present posture of affaires, being trusted with the care of preserveing the publique peace and resisting the enemies theirof, are most unwilling to entertaine any thoughts of your haveing the least intentions of becomeing one of that number, as giveing a rise to those sad miseries which a new civill warr would bring uppon our native country at a time when it hath pleased the Lord [to bestow] full peace and quiet uppon us, which wee all beleeve will be esteemed worthy the preservation, and wee are not apt to think that a person of your honour, meritt, and affection to your country will bee the occasion of disturbance thereof. This comittee have therefore thought fitt heereby to desire yow to forbeare anything which may tend to the interruption of our present peace, and that yow keepe the forces under your command free from acting any thing which may cause disquiett in these nations, or the hazard of that country where you command by the enimies riseing there. The committee suppose your want of a right information of the peaceable and quiet posture of affaires heere, and of the greate unity among the officers and souldjers of the army, and of the present proceedings heere tending to the setlement of this Commonwealth (which your selfe and all good men soe much desire), did occasion the restraint by you put upon diverse officers of the army there, and the cashereing severall of them, with those extraordinary expressions in your letter; but upon this information from hence they desire and expect that yow forthwith give order for the release of those

officers by yow committed, and the restoreing of them to their commands who have been lately putt out, and that yow observe the disciplin of the army, that none bee put out of his command but by a Court Martiall, and that yow give a full conformity to what they now desire; which being submitted unto by your selfe and those under your command, this committee doe hereby assure yow that both yow, and all those who have acted hitherto in this busines by your order, shalbee wholly freed and indemnified from any question or trouble for those past actions; but in case yow shall persist in your former mistakes, and breake the peace of this Common wealth, yow will bring the blood and miseries which may bee caused thereby to cry for vengeance against yow as the author of them, and this committee will not bee wanting through the assistance of the Lord to make use of such meanes as hee shall put into their hands for the prevention thereof. Wee beeing heere uppon the place, and haveing our owne concernes in the publicque welfare of the Common wealth as well as others, hope yow will have soe much charity of us as to think wee understand reasons for our actions, and shall bee as tender of the peace of our owne native countrye as your selfe or any others, and therefore desire yow would not bee too precipitant, least uppon better information your repentance may bee too late. Sir, wee leave these matters to your serious consideration, desireing your answer thereunto.

Signed in the name and by order
of the Committee of Safety.

JOHNSTON, President.

White Hall,
29th October, 1659.

The Ministers of the Congregated Churches about London to General Monck

My Lord and Gentlemen, xxxii. f. 96.

Your Declaration to the Churches of Christ in the three Nations, having been delivered to us and considered by us, wee hold it our duty in a businesse of soe greate importance and conse-

quence to communicate unto you our sense therupon;[1] which that it might more fully bee imparted wee have desired some of our Brethren in person to make theire repaire unto you, to witt Lt. Genll. Whalley and Major Genll. Goffe, together with Mr. Joseph Carrill and Mr. Matthew Barker, pastours of neighbouring congregacions, who as they are deare unto us and of esteeme in the Churches, soe are able to relate unto yow our mindes and apprehensions in this busines; and therefore wee earnestly desire yow to receive them with good affeccion, and to give credit to what they shall represent unto yow in our names.[2] The shortnes of the tyme would not permitt us to take with us the concurrence of more Churches in remote parts of the Nation, whose sence wee doubt not but wilbee the same as ours, who subscribes ourselves,

My Lord and Gentlemen,

Yours to serve you in the Lord,

From the Savoy, 31 October, 1659.

JOHN OWEN.
PHILIP NYE.
JOHN ROWE.
SETH WOOD.
THO. SMALLWOOD.
JACOB WILLER.
HEN. SCOBELL.
WILLIAM HOOKE.
THO. BROOKS.
WILLM. GREENHILL.
MATT. MEADE.
RO. GOUGE.
HUM. DAVYE.
NICH. ROBERTS.
NICH. JUXON.
WILL. VINER.
ROBT. NEWMAN.
THO. CHANDLER.
THO. ONGE.

To the Right Honorable General Monck and the officers of the army in Scotland.

[1] In answer to this epistle Monck wrote the letter to 'The Congregated Churches in and about London,' addressed to Owen, Hooke, and Greenhill, and dated Nov. 28, 1659, which is reprinted as No. XII. in Toland's collection of Monck's letters.

[2] Phillips, after mentioning that Caryll, the minister, Col. Goffe, and Col. Whalley were sent to Monck to endeavour a reconciliation, says: 'Likewise Mr Hammond and Mr. Barker were deputed in the name of the Independent congre-

The Inhabitants of Berwick to General Monck

Barwick, November 2, 1659.

Right Honourable,

Haveing very laitely an opportunity to peruse a printed letter dated October 27 from your Lordshipp and the Officers under your command to the Officers at Whitehall, wherein you earnestly desire that there may be ane invitement maid to the Members of Parliament to returne to the discharge of thare dutyes in freedome and libertye, and likewise yow promise your utmost indeavours to regaine a good understanding betwixt the Parliament and the Officers of the Army at Whitehall, we could noe lesse then acknowledge to your Honours, that we thincke both ourselves and all that are well willers to the Comonwealth of Israell to bee deepely ingaged to your Lordshipp for makeing proffer of such an expedient of peace, which if it shall please the Lord to owne with his blessing will make many a good heart rejoyce that now sitts downe in ashes, waiteing what sad dispensations the Lord hath in store for us. By serious pondering that letter of yours we were stirr'd upp to write another to Whitehall, a coppy whereof we have inclosed for your perusall. What the issue of affaires will be we are unworthy to know; but laying downe our all at the feet of

gations in and about London to mediate a peace between the two armies' (*Baker*, p. 690). Gumble, however, while rightly describing Barker and Caryll as the emissaries of the Churches, says that they were accompanied 'as intruders' by Whalley, Goffe, and Mr. Hammond, of Newcastle (*Life of Monck*, p. 142) Monck held a conference with these emissaries at Holyrood, 'where were present to treat with them General Monck, Col. Fairfax, Col. Syler, Doctor Barrow, the Judge-Advocate of the Army, and Mr. Gumble, one of the General's chaplains. At this conference Mr. Collins, an Independent minister (who had been one of the preachers of the late Council in Scotland), was admitted to be present as a neuter.' Phillips goes on to give a summary of Caryll's speech and of the debate which followed. Gumble gives no details, but seems to dispute the truth of the account given by Phillips (p. 143).

the Lord, the makeing use of such meanes we apprehended to be the duty of

Your Lordshipp's humble Servants,

CHRIS. ORDE.	ELIAS PROTT.
MARK SCOTT.	CLEMENT ARMOUR.
WILL. WEBB.	JNO. FORESIDE.
HEN. EDMESTON.	THO. TRUMBLE.
JNO. INGRAM.	ROGER WEDDELL.
NICKOLAS LAWE.	ROBT. TRUMBLE MAIOUR.
LISLYE FORSYDE.	JNO. SLEIGH.
RICH. WINLOE.	ANDREW CHRISPE.
JOHN FORSTER.	THO. WATSONE.
JO. CRAWFORTH.	RALPH SALKELD.
THO. DICKENSON.	THO. LINDSLAY.
STEP. JACKSON.	

General Monck to the Inhabitants of Berwick

xxxii. f. 71. Gentlemen,

I have perused yours of the 2d instant, with the copie of that you sent to my Lord Fleetwood, and I kindly thanke you for your civill respects to mee in them.[1] I praise the Lord I can say with comfort I have not sought my self in any thing I ever acted, and shall humbly submit the issue of my undertakeings (as I ought) to the Lord's disposure. I know the divisions of the Armys will but strengthen the hands of the Common Enimys of our peace, and therefore I hope God will not leave us to our owne corrupt wills and the effect of theirs, but interpose with a spirit of healeing in his wings, and owne his owne cause where hee shall finde it righteously asserted and prosecuted, as it is upon our hearts to doe, and wee desire the prayers of yow and all the people of God to assist us in it.

[November 8.]

[1] The letter to Fleetwood is amongst the *Clarke MSS.* (xxxii. 67-69), but it is not of sufficient interest to print.

General Monck to Lieut.-General Fleetwood

My Lord, lii. f. 5b.

I had the favoure yesterday to receive your Lordshippe's of the 25th of October by Collonel Talbott and [Dr.] Clarges, and am obliged to your Lordshipp for the great respect manifested to me in itt, of which the sending of two such freinds in this occation is not the least. I have very seriously considered all your Lordshipp writt, and have discoursed with Collonel Talbott about the whole matter, but am sorrey to find your Lordshipp soe much mistaken in the apprehentions of things. As to what Sir Arthur Hezlerigge, Collonel Walton, and Collonel Morley acted in drawing regiments to Westminster Hall, itt was but thare duty, they being trusted by the Parliament (in whom the militia was asserted by the blood of many pretius saints) to manage all their forces in defence thereof, and those souldiers that were induced to oppose them were the proper deviders of the army. But truely (my Lord) I was much distracted at my first heareing of the practices of our bretheren at London, who did not onely, to the great scandall of the army, interrupt the Parliament, but begun imediately to forme themselves into such a posture as denounced a warr to all that condescended not to them. As first they assembled some officers together that called themselves a Generall Councill, and these chose a Commander in Cheife, a Major Generall, and Comissary Generall, in direct opposition to the Parliament's authoritie, who had not onely declared against such officers, but setled the government of the army in seaven commissioners. And since that (if our ordenary letters are true) they have done little lesse then constituted legislative authoritie over these nations, and appointed comittees or councills for the raiseing moneyes and makeing warr and peace, which at once divests the people of such essentiall and undoubted rights as the greatest tyrants amongst ous never openly pretended to, and against which even themselves and your Lordshipp have often solemnlye witnessed. I beseech your

Lordshipp, what does this signifie but a devideing the army, and [to] make the most glorious cause that ever men ingaged in a personall contest? And if your Lordshipp and those with yow oppose the Parliament's army (which the Lord hath soe often and soe eminently owned), lett the Lord judge betweene yow and ous where the guilt will rest. And although your Lordshipp is soe confident of the justice of the actings as to tell me, yow beleive not two of the Churches approve of my faithfulnesse to the cause I prosecute, I must tell your Lordshipp without vanitie, I beleive that there is not any truely godly professor, unprejudiced, that denies us his prayers and best wishes; and in the distinction of godly persons, I desire your Lordshippe to conclude them godly that say they are soe, except they are righteouslie; wherefor, to use your Lordshippe's owne wordes, I begg yow to refuse and decline every thing which may cause further differences and divisions amongst ous. Certainely, if we sought ourselves we have as good a title as our bretheren at London to impose uppon the people, and sett upp Generall Councills and Councills of State, if we affected arbitrary exercise of government; which notwithstanding that your Lordshippe sayes [it] is not in the[ir] intentions all unbiassed men may runn and read the contrary in those actions. As to what your Lordshipp mentions of blameing the authority I exercise in this army as a comissioner of Parliament I may say thus much, that since by the force upon the Parliament the comissioners are hindered from the execution of thair trust, I may make use of such of their forces as are under my chardge to restore them. And when the Lord pleases to returne the Parliament to their trust, I will submitt my actinges theirin to their judgement.

Thus I have hastily given your Lordshippe an account of things, and to testefie unto you how unwilling I am [to] decline any overtures of meditation, I doe freely accept of your Lordshippe's invitation therunto; and if your Lordshipp please to appoint three of those with yow to treate with the like number

from hence in the behalfe of this army, I shall not dispaire of an happy issue from thair indeavours. I must not omitt to acquaint your Lordshippe that Collonel Lilburne as it were manages an open warr against ous heare, by procureing subscriptions of engagements, and drawing horse and foote in more then ordenary or usuall numbers towards our borders, and guarding all our armies, and stopping and scearching all our letters; soe that if I send some men to prevent a surpriz upon ous, I hope your Lordshippe will put noe ill interpretation upon my duety in itt, being confident your Lordshipp does not intend by the offer of this meditation to insnare ous. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordshippe's [very humble servant,

GEORGE MONCK.]

Edenburgh,
3. November,
1659.

General Monck to Major-General Lambert

My Lord, Bi. f. 6b.

I have received your Lordshipp's from White Hall of the 25th of October, and should have been glad to have found that satisfaction from Colonel Talbot of the forces at London in their late actings, as your Lordshipp gave mee hopes of in it. It is much upon my spiritt that this poore Common wealth can never bee happy if the army make it selfe a divided interest from the rest of the nation, which must bring us into such a slavery as will not bee long indured; and at last, when all meanes faile, if ever wee are setled, the Parliament must doe it. I have in my station heere alwayes avoyded designes of divisions, and could heartily [desire] that part of the forces att London had not made that unhappy rent by their late violent acting; and for the love and friendshipp I have ever borne your Lordshipp I shall joyne with yow in all good meanes to preserve these nations and your selfe from the said

consequences that must ensue if the breaches are made wider; and in order heereunto I have heartily and freely accepted my Lord Fleetwood's tender of mediation for a good understanding and unity betweene us, and have sent upp Colonel Wilkes, Lieut. Colonel Clobury, and Major Knight from my selfe and the rest of the officers heere to treate with your Lordshipp and officers above for that purpose, and hope that their endeavoures may produce an happy reconciliation of these differences, which is the hearty desire of

Your Lordshipp's very humble servant,

GEORGE MONCK.

Edinburgh,
3 November, 1659.

General Monck to Johnston of Warriston

lii. f. 7b. My Lord,

I received your Lordshipp's of the 29th concerneing your private affaires, and one signed by your Lordshipp, as President of the Committee of Safety, concerning the restoreing the commissioners for the administration of justice to the exercise of theire places, but that your Lordshipp mentions from the Committee of Safety about the payment of your Lordshipp's monies is not yet come to mee; and, indeede, if it weere, I cannot see how monies can bee issued by it, in regard the authority is soe now wee neither know of its constitution or power; and the same may bee said as to the judges, for it wilbee of dangerouse consequence to the peace and justice of this place if the lawes bee executed from an illegall foundation, and most especially in criminall cases. I hope the Parliament wilbee againe restored, and I shall then make it my earnest request to them to setle the judicataries heere, being not free to have it done by any other meanes. But I'll assure your Lordshipp I shall never bee wanting in my acknowledgments of all your Lordshipp's respects to mee; and in anything I can serve

your Lordshipp with safety to my trust, none shall more willingly doe itt then,

My Lord,
Your Lordshipp's very humble servant,
GEORGE MONCK.

Edinburgh,
3 November, 1659.

General Monck to Colonel Lilburne

Sir, Hi. f. 8.

In compliance with an overture made to mee by my Lord Fleetwood for a mediation betwixt the Parliament's army heere and the forces at London, I have called the officers together, and wee have agreed to send Colonel Wilkes, Lieut. Colonel Clobury, and Major Knight as commissioners from us to London, to treate with our brethren for the begetting a unity and right understanding betwixt us. And to testifie my forwardnes in it, I have this night dispatched orders to my remotest quarters that there bee noe advance made of any of the forces, and I expect the like from yow to those in your charge. I praise the Lord I can say with comfort, I never did or shall make or increase divisions in the armies of this Common wealth, and if those at London had not made the breach, it should have never been done by mee; and if a happy union arise not from this intended mediation, all the world shall see the cause of it arrises not from any averssnes in the army heere, or,

Sir,
Your very humble servant,
GEORGE MONCK.

Edinburgh,
3 November, 1659.

General Monck to a Minister

Reverend Sir, xxxii. f. 72.

Tis one of the best simptons that I discover of God's intended mercys to these poore Nations, that there is such a sence of

miseries upon the hearts of God's people, and a spiritt of prayer powred forth to wrestle with him for salvation. I humbly thancke you that you have recommended our affaires to the throne of grace; and let me assure you I esteeme the prayers of the Saints our greatest strenght, next the presence of God. Indeed, after all these revolutions I have still looked for great appearances and extraordenary manifestation of the glory of God in the midst of ous; but now I see soe much selfe and ambition working that the worke of God which I exspect and feare will be a strange worke, even judgement. I blesse God the same impression hath beene upon the hearts of God's people heere with ous, wholy to pray and labour for a peaceable accomodation; and all that I have yet done or shall doe shall be directed to that end, as you have seene by our printed papers. But I could not but send some forces to assist justice Ogle and other freinds that freely offered themselves to this worke. And I beseech yow put your soules in my soules stead, and then judge. Should I sitt still in such a day as this is? Am I not to give an accompt to the Nation—nay, to the great God? What shall I answer for all vowes and ingagement[s], nay, for all the blood of all the Saints that hath beene in the prosecution of this cause? Yow cannott but remember our laite addresse; and should we desart the Parliament, when they have done nothing this 2d session but what will recommend them to posterity, assertinge our rights as men and Christians? And I beseech, what can be the issue of this contempt of authority but an arbitrary Government by the sword, to enslave the contiences, lawes, and estates of the people of these Nations to the lusts of a few ambitious persons? What danger are [the] churches of Jesus Christ in, when protected by those who, by breach of promisses and ingagements, manifests noe contience of God, what ever their profession be! How frequently and very lately I have urged my dismission the Parliament can witnesse, to avoid the falling of this ruine in my hand. But since it hath pleased God to call me to this work, I will not repine, being ready to doe and to suffer, if it

be his pleasure. That great comfort that beares upp my spiritts under this burthen is that I have none but publique aimes, and yow may be assured that the libertye of the congregated Churches shall be very pretious to me.

For this Nation I shall leave such garrisons and take such assureances from the Lords and Gentlemen, that I doubt not but to answear for the peace of itt for some tyme. I have freely opened my heart to yow, and expect that you will not weaken our hands, but strengthen ous, and continue to pray for us.[1]

Edinburgh,
3 November, 1659.

To Mr. William Clarke [?]

London, the 3d of November, 1659.

Loving Friend, xxxii. f. 86.

I have constantly written twice a weeke since these troubles began. It is impossible for any honnest man to beleeve how most shamefully these A[na] B[aptists] doe reproch my Lord Generall Monck, saying that hee intends to bring in the King of Scotts, and that he hath put out all the godly. I have spent and doe spend my whole time in undeceveing the people. The Militia of this Citty mett last night, and were hott in debate about sending a Declaration to Scotland in answer to Generall Monck's Declaration, and have chosen a Committee of 5 to draw upp somthing to offer the Militia this afternoone to bee sent into Scotland. They are divided; 33 weere for a Declaration to bee sent to this effect, that they would not have his Lordshipp trust to the Militia of London for any assistance, but to desire him to release these godly officers that hee hath imprisoned, and then they would endeavoure a good understanding betweene the Parliament and Army; and there were 25 against this vote; but somthing is drawing upp to

[1] The MS. gives no indication of the person to whom this was addressed. It was perhaps written to John Owen, or, it may be, to Mr. Samuel Hammond, of Newcastle, who appears from his letter of December 17 to have had some previous correspondence with Monck.

offer to the Militia, but wee shall not know what is done till it bee very late. The Militia are very symple, unworthy fellowes generally, and hated by the Citty, and doe give credit to every report; and there were 40 letters read at the Militia from Edinburgh and Leith, some from those in prison, and some from others, vilifieing Generall Monck and his officers very much, that the Militia thinkes that they are driveing the King's interest; but I have been and still am active in informeing them the contrary. Heere is a long letter which I am confident was written by W. W., for it is his style, and was read at the Militia, and from H. and K. and others. It were well if C. W. and C. K. and C. N. of Sterling would not write unto Jacob White concerneing the sincerity of their hearts in this cause to set upp the A[na] B[aptists] and put downe the M[inistry], to sell colledge lands and destroy the universities, and this they will doe if they should prosper. It is advised by all that it is safest to keepe Scotland this Winter, and to quarter about the Borders; theire army will have oppertunity to fall from them, and the countryes and citty will not hould long quiet, and it is safer to doe soe then to hazard all by too suddaine a march into England. Lambert went this morneing out of the citty towards the North, and what forces they could spare marched hence yesterday. I mett with many of them with their knapsacks on their backs, and 6 or 8 in a company. I said aloud, 'These honnest souldjours does not looke as if they would hurt Generall Monck.' They stood still, and laughed, and answered, 'Noe, Sir, you may sweare it.' They will never bee got to fight, I am confident. However, I am against your comeing to England as yet; your cause wilbee understoode every day better and better. Mr. H. is still heere, L[ord] F[leetwood] stayes him till hee have an answer from G[eneral] M[onck] of his former letters.[1] The Committee of Safety have not acted much more then theire Proclamation. They are very sorry and troubled, and never yet of 23

[1] Mr. Houlcupp, Monck's messenger. See a letter from Capt. Griffith Lloyd to Monck, printed in the *Report on Mr. Leybourne Popham's MSS.*, p. 125.

above 9 or 10 have mett. S[alway] and S[ir] H. V[ane] signe nothing yet more met to consult with them. C. L. is gone for Leith. The Cittizens wilbee stirring shortly when the army is away to the North, and others will declare; bee not too ready to ingage. Hacker's regiment and Berrye's and others will not declare for the Army, and most of the officers in Hacker's regiment are turned out; one of his Captains vowes that both horse and foot are for Generall Monck, and its thought will come over unto him. Col. Twisleton, whose regiment is [in] Scot[land], is dismist from his regiment; soe hee cannot act. Capt. Dutton, Capt. Hacoridge, and others have deserted the army and are dismist, and wofull divisions increase daily. The country will not bee long at peace, nor this Citty, and every day your cause gets ground; feare not, bee not daunted. You have a righteouse cause, and a righteouse God; the good Lord strengthen your hands, and farewell Parliaments and all our libertyes if you should desert this cause. L[ieut.] G[en.] L[udlow] is come from I[reland], and hath declared his dissent, for hee is alsoe dismist, and F[leetwood] made Generall of all the forces there. If your army doth march for England the best way is Lancashire and Staffordshire—the counties will rise with yow; the Lord direct you in all things. I am just now come from the Militia, who sat this night till 10 of the clock, and there was a letter brought in by the Committee of 5, which was alsoe chose the last night for that purpose, which have taken upp the debate all this afternoone. And at last, being put to the question whether the saide letter should bee sent to Gen. Monck or noe, was carried in the affirmative by 3 or 4 voyces; but those that were against the said letter did desire their discent might bee entered in the Clerke's booke, for that the said letter was of ill consequence, and would rather cause a division betweene the Parliament and the army then to seement their difference, in regard that the said letter did rather incline to the army then to the Parliament. But when the said letter was carried for to bee sign'd it could not bee found; at which the armies party was not a little troubled; and

soe the Court desolved, and appointed to debate it againe to morrow, at the hower of 2 of the clock. The Lord Mayor, and all other persons of quality and sober minds, are clearely for Generall Monck's Declaration, and its thought it very much divides the Citty.

Newsletter

xxxii. f. 89b. *November* 3.—This day the Lord Lambert is gone towards Scotland; his forces both horse and foot are very much devided, and vowes that they will not strike a stroake against Generall Monck, and I verily beleeve it, for they [are] against the designe of the army; and yow will soone heere, so soone as the army is gone some distance from hence, that the counties and Citty will soone be up in armes, being generally disattisfied. The Malitia this night I understand are agreed to write a smooth calme letter to Generall Monck; but their declarations are of noe great consequence, for they are generally hated of this Citty, and are as much devided as the army. Here is an inclosed letter which was read in the Militia the last night,[1] with severall other letters which are farr more invective, whereby I perceive there are many false bretheren amongst yow. Let not your hearts [be troubled], but bee strong and coragious, for you have a righteous cause, and a God that will witnes against all unrighteousness; strengthen your selves as much as you can. . . . [Overton ?], notwithstanding all that hath bin said about it, doth as yet stand neuter, and he will play his game at last. Left. Genll. Ludlow hath deserted the army, whereupon he is dismist. Coll. Hacker's regiment have deserted the army, and all the Captaines displaced excepting Capt. Walley, and all his souldiers dissatisfied, and vowes never to fight against Genll. Monck. Your cause beginneth to bee understood every day better then other. It is the opinion of many that it is the securest way for your army to continue in Scotland, which will

[1] This letter to Monck, with a list of thirty supporters and twenty-nine who opposed it, is printed in *Redmayne's Narrative*, p. 64.

weaken the enemy and incorage your friends in these parts. The Lord direct yow and incorage yow in all things.

Cornet Henry Monck to Mr. William Clarke [?]

Dublin, November 3, 1659.

I acknowledge my self highly favoured by the advertisement you give mee of that honest and honourable resolution of Gen. Monck, and I doubt nott butt the prosecution of itt will bee successefull, and the event victorious, and althongh att present I can discover nothing butt a generall neutrality in the army heere, they for the present forbearing to declare, I hope they will speedily follow your example. xxxii. f. 94.

Since the writing heerof I am informed there is an addresse signed by 14 Feild officers and privately sent to the army in England; and I observe all that are inclinable to Anabaptisme doe declare against the Parliament.[1] H. M.

[1] A copy of the address referred to in the above letter is amongst the *Clarke Papers* (xxxii. 121); it is of no great interest, and has been already printed, from a copy amongst the papers of Col. John Jones, in the *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* for 1860–1, p. 265. The address is dated October 16, and contains a vague approval of the doings of the army in England and a promise not to be divided from their brethren there. The signers are Hardress Waller, Thomas Cooper, Peter Wallis, Alexander Brayfield, John Nelson, William Arnop, Joseph Deane, Richard Lawrence, Daniel Abbott, Henry Pritty, Thomas Sadler, Henry Jones, William Moore, Abel Warren, and Thomas Davies. With it is a letter of October 27 from Jones to Ludlow, announcing the despatch of Col. Barrow and Lieut.-Col. Dobson to England to represent the Irish officers. Monck had written to Ludlow, the Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, announcing his resolution of supporting the Parliament, and asking for his adhesion (October 28). The letter arrived during Ludlow's absence, and was answered by Col. Jones and by the officers of the Irish army (Ludlow's *Memoirs*, ed. 1894, ii. 147, 449). Jones's letter was merely a civil acknowledgment, dated November 4. The letter of the officers in general, signed by Jones himself, Waller, Cooper, Lawrence, Robert Phaire, Nicholas Kempson, and Henry Jones, was a direct negative: 'We cannot approve of any resolution of yours, or any other man, which may tend to the engaging of any part of the armies or forces of these nations against their brethren, or to the dividing of them in interest or affection, being well assured that such a practice will be found in the issue to be nothing else but the opening of a door for

Councell of Warre at Edinburgh, November 3, 1659[1]

Present:

Lo. Generall Monck.
Col. Reade.
Col. Wilkes.

Lt. Col. Clobery.	Capt. Jeremiah Smyth.
„ Reade.	„ Philipp Pryme.
„ Keene.	„ William Newman.
„ Ethelbert Morgan.	„ Timothy Langley.
„ John Hublethorne.	„ George Everard.
„ Richard Hatt.	„ Thomas Hunt.
Major Daniell Davison.	„ Richard Clifton.
„ James Mutloe.	„ Edward Freere.
„ James Emerson.	„ William Downes.
„ Francis Nicholls.	Lieut. Thomas Ellis.

the common enemy to come in.' This letter was sent by Major John Barrett, who was given by Jones general instructions to endeavour to prevent a breach. All three letters are printed in the *Proceedings of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 1860–1, pp. 271–274. The letter of the officers to Monck is also amongst the *Clarke MSS.* (xxxii. 119). On Barrett's mission see Baker, pp. 690–1. At the same time that Barrett arrived Monck received information from Cornet Monck that Sir Charles Coote, Theophilus Jones, and a large portion of the Irish army would support him, and that it was hoped to gain over Hardress Waller. Monck wrote an answer to the Irish officers, which is dated November 21 (*Clarke MSS.* xxxii. 130–132). It was printed as a broadside. 'A Letter from General Monck to the Commissioners of the Parliament in Ireland' (British Museum, *King's Pamphlets*, 669, f. 22, No. 39). Also in pamphlet form as 'A Sober Letter of General Monck's unto the Commander-in-Chief and Officers in Ireland,' 4to, 1659. The pamphlet is dated Edinburgh, November 27, but the broadside copy of the letter is undated. In the postscript Monck says: 'This messenger after some time being in this city, carried himself very indiscreetly, so that I thought fit to confine him to his chamber, which I hope you will not take ill.'

[1] The same day Monck wrote a letter to Fleetwood acknowledging his of October 25 and 29, and announcing his sending of the three commissioners named above. It is printed under the title of 'General Monck's last Letter to His Excellency the Lord Fleetwood,' together with a letter from Talbot and Clarges to Fleetwood dated November 4, announcing the success of their mediation, and one from Col. John Pearson to Fleetwood dated November 5. The two former letters are reprinted in Redmayne's *Narrative*, pp. 68, 69.

After reading of the lettres from the Lord Fleetwood and Lord Lambert dated 25 October,

Resolved, that Col. Timothy Wilkes, Lt. Col. John Clobery, and Major Ralph Knight be Commissioners to goe and treate with the Lord Fleetwood and officers above, and that Col. Thomas Reade, Lt. Col. Clobery, Lt. Col. Reade, Lt. Col. Keene, and Capt. Langley, or any three of them, bee a Committee to meete this afternoone att two of the clock, and prepare their instructions against to-morrow.

Instruccions for Col. Wilkes, Lieut. Col. Clobery, and Major Ralph Knight, Commissioners from the Parliament's Army in Scotland

1. That the Treaty continue for 14 dayes and noe more, commencing from the 10th instant.

2. That the monies due to the forces of Scotland out of the Assessements in England bee forthwith return'd to Scotland.

3. That the forces of each partie advance noe nearer to each other then the van of their Quarters, as they shall bee on the 6th of this instant.

4. That the Members of Parliament bee permitted to returne to the House, and sitt in the exercise of the supreame aucthority of these Nations in that freedome they satt in on the 11th of October last, with security against future interruptions till the 6th of May next.

5. That a godly, learned, and faithfull Ministry, with competent maintenance and other incouragementes, bee continued in the three Nations, and the like incouragement to schooles and universities.

6. That noe monie bee leavied, peace or forraine warre declared, or Courts of Judicature erected, nor noe new law introduced, butt by aucthoritie of Parliament.

7. That all officers displaced in Scotland and Berwick on

Tweede stand soe displaced, and all such as are placed in their roome by Generall Monck bee continued till the Parliament's pleasure bee knowne concerning them.

8. That Judges bee speedily appointed by Parliament for Administration of Justice in Scotland, and the Judicatories open'd.

9. That the Acts of the officers of the Army in England bee nott deemed the Acts of a Generall Councill of the Army without the concurrence of the officers of the Army of Scotland and Ireland.

10. That noe forme of Governement bee established over these Nations butt by Parliament, unlesse they shall refuse to sitt, or sitting shall refuse or neglect to establish the same betwixt this and the 6th of May next.

11. That the proposalls of the Army of England to the Parliament of the 12th of May last bee owned by the Officers of the Armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with such ratification of the 4th, 12th, and 13th Article, and parte of the 9th Article, as shall bee agreed on by the Commissioners of the Army now appointed to treate.

12. That the Expresses of the Commissioners bee nott interrupted, nor their packetts open'd, nor their persons molested.

13. That an Act of Indempnity and Oblivion bee past by Parliament for all Acts done since the first of October by any Members of the Armies of this Commonwealth.

14. That Commissioners for the management of the Civill affaires in Scotland bee speedily nominated by Parliament and sent downe.

15. That noe Militia forces bee raised, nor any parte of the army recruited during the Treatie, after the 10th of this month, and that all Militia forces that are already raised bee forthwith dismissed during the Treaty.

16. That in case of sicknesse or other casualtie of one of the

Commissioners, the other two to have power to Act in pursuance of these Instructions.

THOMAS READE.
CLEMENT KEENE.
ROBERT READE.
TIMOTHY LANGLEY.

Edinburgh,
4 November, 1659.

General Monck to Colonel Lilburne

Honoured Sir, lii. f. 9b.

Last night I gave yow notice that, uppon the invitation of the Lord Fleetwood, my selfe and the Councill of Officers heere had agreed to send theire commissioners to treate with their brethren of England for the begetting a right understanding and firme union betwixt them and us. I am now to signifie to yow that this gentleman, Lieut. Collonel Clobury, is one of the commissioners, Colonel Wilkes and Major Knight the other two, who will come some few dayes after. I desire yow that when this Gentleman shall arrive to Newcastle, or such place as yow shall quarter in, that yow will give him assurance that noe forces of yours advance neerer us then your quarter next to us, as it shalbee when hee comes to yow, which condition shalbee alsoe performed on my part. And withall I desire yow to give him assurance that neither himselfe or any other of the commissioners, or any expresses they shall send, bee interrupted, or their pacquetts opened. These are reasonable and necessary conditions in order to a faire composure of this unhappy difference, and I hope the Lord will make these endeavoures for a reconciliation effectuall to that good end to which they are designed, namely, the glory of his name, and the peace and welfaire of his people, which are the unfained desires of

Your very humble servant,
GEORGE MONCK.

Edinburgh,
4 November.

General Monck to Johnston of Warriston

lii. f. 11b.

My Lord,

I received a paper signed by your Lordshippe in the name of the Committee of Safetie, butt nott knowing any such aucthority established by Parliament, or derived from the good people of this Commonwealth, I wonder att such commands and soe peremptory. I doe remember before the setling the late Councill of State there was such a Committee, which ceased uppon their Convention and Establishment. I desire therfore that they would first demonstrate to mee their lawfull aucthority, and what right they have in the Governement of this Commonwealth, for I am resolved nott to receive any commands butt from the Parliament of England, or aucthority from them derived. As for the dismissing of any officers of the army heere, I have done itt att the desire of such as would nott act according to their Commissions in obedience to the Parliament, and others who (contrary to my expresse order) were active in promoting dangerous practices to devide the army (which hath occasioned our present troubles) I have suspended from their commands, and shall continue them soe till the Parliament's pleasure bee further knowne.

I shall nott further trouble your Lordshippe with our affaires, as nott being bound to give you any account of our actions, yett as a Christian I take myself obliged to indeavour satisfaction in every Christian. And therfore I lett you know that I have sent uppe, with the consent of the officers heere (being invited therunto by my Lord Fleetwood), 3 Commissioners, godly and faithfull men, who have bin engaged in this good cause from the beginning, with full instruccions to offer such thinges as may heale our breaches.

I am heartily sorry your Lordshippe does interiste your self into such Councills as rather tend to the widening then healing our differences, because of the particular affection I have alwayes bore

to your Lordshippe, and shall bee grieved if you give mee occasion to bee other then,

My Lord,
Your Lordshippe's very affeccionate servant,
GEORGE MONCK.

Edinburgh,
5 November, 1659.

For the right Honourable Archibald
Lord Warestoune close att Whitehall.

Newsletter

London, the 5th November, 1659.

I pray yow advise my Lord Generall Monck that Thursday the Lord Lambert went towards the North, and lodged 7 miles beyond Ware, and intends to raise all the North Country Militia as hee goeth along. Yesterday night this Citty Militia met about a letter to bee sent to Generall Monck, and some were for burning the letter, and others of the A. B.[1] partie were for the sending it; so they divided, and 27 were not for sending it, and 29 for its sending; whereuppon the Aldermen and the sober minded men amongst them desired to enter their descents against it, and said they would print them, and summ fower of these of the Militia that were against the letter were able to buy the estates of the 29 that were for it. The Committee of Safety this day being acquainted with these divisions, sent this night an order to the Militia to act noe more as a Militia till further order from them, feareing this letter thus prepared and framed by the cittizens might bee of ill consequence in divideing the Citty, should the negatives print and publish theire descents as they resolved to doe, but now all is [blank]. The substance of the letter was, that they was informed that Generall Monck was comeing into England with an army, and had imprisoned very many godly officers that had theire Comissions from the Parliament without any examination of them, and therefore desired him to set at libertie those officers, and to forbeare the xxxii. f. 92.

[1] The A. B. means the Anabaptists, that is, the extremer Independents.

entering England; however, they would secure the peace of the Nation, and oppose all that should infringe the peace thereof, according to their instructions in the Act of Parliament, and this was the whole substance of the letter. It is written hither from Scotland, dated the 29th past, that Generall Monck is on his march for England. It's the opinion of many that his Lordshipp had better keepe about Barwick and the Borders for a month or two, by which meanes the reallity of his cause would have more roote with honnest men, and Lambert's designes bee discovered, and those true and faithfull souldjers now comes to goe with him have oppertunity to declare theire judgements, and defeat him in his treasonable designes to make himselfe paramounte and sett upp the A. B., the which if hee should prevaile [in], then farewell Parliaments and all our liberties both christian and civill. Lambert, reading my Lord Generall Monck's Declaration when Mr. Weaver was present, said if Generall Monck had noe more at the bottome of his designe then was there declared for, hee did not question but that Generall Monck and hee should agree and joyne together. Now take heede, for Lambert is a suttle truce breaker, and if my Lord Generall Monck can but keepe himselfe and army about Barwick for a month or two his busines wilbee done, but to come into England with soe small a number as 5 or 6000 men, it will incurrage Lambert's creatures, and daunt his owne souldjers. The Lord direct him and yow for the best. Ludlow is come from Ireland and hath disserted the army. Col. Twisleton (whose regiment is in Scotland) hath disserted the army, but is ingaged not to meddle on either side; Col. Hacker, [Lieut.-Col.] Farly, Major Evelin, Major Barton, Captain Hutton, Captain Hawkerydge, all Col. Hacker's Captains dismist, and they are wofully divided, both horse and foote, and theire divisions increase both in army, citty, and country, daily, and yow will finde strong revolutions shortly. They have taken away the money out of the Navy office to pay theire army upon theire advance, and soe the shippes that are now heere arrived out of the Sound and Straights lyes in the Hope, Chattom, and Ports-

mouth, with all theire seamen at wages and victualls for want of moneies to pay them off, which puts the state to 14,000*l.* per mensem charges. All things are out of order and men's spiritts greately exasperated. The private souldjers, both horse and foote, vowed that they would not fight Generall Monck in this quarrell; bee not daunted; your cause is righteouse and God is righteouse. The A. B. have done what they can to make his Lordshipp odiouse, as that Charles Stewart is at the bottome of this his designe. I wish his Lordshipp would write a sober letter to the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen, and Common Councill of the Citty of London; it would advantage him exceedingly, I have good grounds for it.

The Citty Militia is much offended that the Committee of Safty should discharge them from farther acting, and would seeme to take noe notice of that order, but adjurn'd of themselves, saying theire Commission was from the Parliament, and was of higher authority then theire orders.[1] This have increased theire discontent very highly to this present power. The souldjers have been in a mutiny 3 severall tymes since they went hence, and jeare as they goe along, saying wee are for the Parliament still and ever wilbee. The Country Militia will not come into Lambert, as I heare; in 4 counties nott half a troope came in.

The Commissioners of the Army in Scotland to General Monck

My Lord, H. f. 14b.

All the account wee can give your Lordshippe of the affaires committed unto us is onely this: This day about two of the clock wee found Col. Lilburne at Cleadon, seaven miles out of our way byside Newcastle, to whom (after wee had delivered your Lordshipp's letter) wee propounded what wee had in instruction

[1] About November 10 or 11 the Committee of Safety displaced the existing Commissioners for the Management of the Militia and appointed new ones. A list of their names is given in Redmayne's *True Narrative*, which contains also a list of the officers appointed by them for the six regiments of the London trained bands (pp. 70, 71).

concerneing him, and hee very readily assented to these following conditions:

First, that the forces under his command should not advance beyond theire present quarter which is neerest to your Lordshipp, from this day.

Secondly, that noe Militia forces bee raised dureing the Treaty, nor recruits, with[out] tymouse advertysements given thereof to your Lordshipp, that soe your Lordshipp may have equall advantage to doe the same, and hath uppon your Lordshipp's letter put a stopp to his former order to the Militias in these parts. Hee hath given us his passe, and promised that the expresse to us and from us shall not bee interrupted, nor pacquetts opened. All this hee hath done, as of himselfe, in as much as in him lies, and hath written by us to my Lord Lambert, and inclosed your Lordshipp's letter, with his assent to the above mentioned particulars.

Wee are informed by him that wee shall meete the Lord Lambert att Yorke. Most of the officers wee have mett with seeme very desireous of peace, yet seeme not to bee resolved to restore the Parliament. Wee are tould att Newcastle (of a truith) that Comissary Generall Whalley, Major Generall Goff, Mr. Carrell, and some others are uppon the roade towords your Lordshipp with a Declaration from the Churches against your proceedings; if it bee soe, wee leave it to your Lordshipp's consideration. Wee hope to bee at Yorke to-morrowe night, which (with our humble service to your Lordshipp) is all at present from,

My Lord,

Your Lordshipp's humble servants,

TIMO: WILKES.
JOHN CLOBERY.
RA. KNIGHT.

Durham,
6 November, 1659.

General Monck to Lieutenant-General Fleetwood

My Lord, lii. f. 13.

I have received from your Lordshipp by the hand of Captain Deane two letters: one from your Lordshipp, which pretends to answer a letter from the officers heere to theire brethren at White Hall; the other from the officers there to those heere.[1] The latter

[1] Here occur in the MS. (*Clarke Papers*, xxxii. ff. 75–80b) two letters: one from the officers of the English army to Monck and his subordinates, beginning, 'Dear Brethren and Fellow Soldiers'; the other a reply from Monck and the officers in Scotland, beginning, 'Dear Brethren and Fellow Soldiers in the Lord, In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.' In the MS. the answer is dated November 7. Both are printed in a pamphlet called *A Letter from the Officers at Whitehall to the Officers under Generall Monck in Scotland, with the Answer of General Monck and his Officers thereunto, wherein with plainness and sincerity they endeavour to set before them the evil of their doings.*' Printed at Edinburgh, by Christopher Higgins, in Hart's Close, over against the Throne Church, and reprinted in London, 1659.

The letter of the English officers was sent by Captain Richard Deane. 'The pretence of Deane's coming to Scotland,' says Phillips, 'was to look after his charge, for he was one of the Treasurers at War; but he privately dispersed tickets as he travelled to seduce Monck's soldiers from him, bringing him withal a letter from Fleetwood which contained an offer of what command in the army he should desire, upon the least private intimation of his inclining to take part with it' (Baker, p. 690; cf. Price, p. 736.) Monck declined this offer, and felt obliged to send Deane away with a rebuke for his intrigues amongst the soldiers. This Deane was cousin of the Parliamentary admiral, and was a leading man amongst the Baptists. A letter from him concerning that sect, addressed to Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, is printed in Neal's *History of the Puritans*, iii. 379, ed. 1837.

In the postscript to their letter the English officers add, 'We hope to hear in your answer to this that all our dear friends, now in bonds, are at liberty.' Monck and the Scottish officers replied: 'We intreat you not to put so hard a name upon the necessary and short restraint of our brethren as bonds; we still own them and use them as brethren; their pay is still continued to them, and the restraint put upon them, for their, and your, and our security, and the security of all God's people, we hope will be very short—shorter than either you or we can expect. And take it no ill we acted anything without first sending to you. We acted nothing but what was necessary to our present safety, and immediately sent our letters to you, which, if they came not to your hand, it is not our faults. We have lately sent commissioners, men faithful and approved, whom we hope you will treat as brethren.'

I have communicated to the officers heere, who have heerewithall returned theire answer. The former, because it came not from them to whome the letter (it pretends to answer) was directed, but from your Lordshipp onely, I have thought fitt to take noe further notice of it, but onely to acquaint your Lordshipp that I have received it. Onely because your Lordshipp hath taken notice of a passage in the letter from the officers, wherein they say that in case the Parliament shall violate the soe often ingaged for liberties of the nations, they shall in theire stations beare theire testimonies against them, from which your Lordshipp makes inferences that might have been very well spared, I shall venture to acquaint your Lordshipp in theire behalfe, that as I doe not question but that they will continue stedfast in what they have declared, soe I doe not finde that they have declared that they will beare theire testimonies in such a manner as your Lordshipp may perhapps meane. And if your Lordshipp and those with yow shall beare noe other manner of testimony but what the officers heere would doe in such a case, I am confident there would bee noe difference amongst us. Further I shall not trouble your Lordshipp at present, because I have already sent commissioners to your Lordshipp, and the officers with yow, from whome I hope to heare a full end of all these unwelcome contraversies, and to have the opertunity once more to subscribe my selfe,

My Lord,
Your Lordshipp's reale and
faithfull servant,
GEORGE MONCK.

Edinburgh,
7th November, 1659.

General Monck to Lieutenant-General Fleetwood

Hi. f. 18b. My Lord,

I beleeve your Lordshipp has by this time received my letters in answer to your Lordshipp's by Coll: Talbott and Dr. Clarges, and I hope yow will bee soe well satisfied with the informacion

which the officers from hence shall give your Lordshipp of our acting heere that yow will put noe ill construction uppon them. Yesterday I dispatched away Captain Deane, who carries with him a modest and Christian answer from our officers to the letter of our Brethren at London, from whence I shall not dispare of a good understanding betwixt us, which is the prayer of,

My Lord,

Your Lordshipp's most humble servant,

GEORGE MONCK.

Edinburgh,
8 November, 1659.

General Monck to Major-General Lambert

My Lord, ii. f. 14.

Having soe readily answered the desires of your Lordshippe and my Lord Fleetwood by hasting some of our officers to London to indeavour a good understanding betwixt us and our brethren, I was in good hopes of a faire composure, and am yett unwilling to despaire of itt, although I must nott conceale to your Lordshippe that wee are nott heere without very doubtfull apprehensions att the rumours wee heare of great forces marching, and great preparations made against us, as if wee were declared enemies. I desire your Lordshippe to consider seriously the sad consequences of a civill warre, least you involve your self too farre in itt, that wee that have drawne our swordes together in defence of our countrie's peace and safety may nott sheath them in one another's bowells. I shall nott trouble your Lordshippe with particulars of thinges, because Colonel Talbott can well informe you of them, to whome I referre you, and am,

My Lord,

Your Lordshippe's most affeccionate servant,

GEORGE MONCK.

Edinburgh,
8 November, 1659.

Extracts from General Monck's Order Book

xlix. f. 103. *November* 8, 1659.—Order to Major Generall Morgan to authorize him to make his present repaire to Linlithgowe, Sterling, and into Fyff, and to tender the late Declaration of the Army to bee signed by the officers and souldiers of the respective troopes quarter'd in these parts, and such officers as refuse hee is to bringe alonge with him, and for the souldiers that refuse hee is to take away their armes and give them discharges, and to certifie to his Lordshippe the names of such officers as are absent. The troopes hee is to visitt are, Captain Prime's att Linlithgowe, Colonel Saunders' and Colonel Twisleton's troope att Sterling, Captain Beke's att Dumfermline and Mueckelhen,[1] Captain Prettyes and Captain Coulson's att Cooper, and Captain Minn's att S. Andrewes,[2] and hee is to take to his assistance Captain Deane, Captain Pryme, and Captain Coulson. Hee is to tender the Declaration himself to the officers, and appoint whome hee shall thinke fitt to [tender it to] the souldiers. To give order that the souldiers doe nott loose or imbezle them, and such troopes as have nott 50 armes to send for them.[3]

Order to Major John Farmer to make his present repaire into Northumberland, and to take the charge and command of the forces, both horse and foote, under the command of the Parliament quarter'd att Alnewick, Morpeth, and the parts therabouts, and to dispose and order them to the best advantage of the service.[4] And

[1] Almost illegible. I cannot identify the place meant.

[2] Of the officers named, Pretty, Coulson, and Prime belonged to the regiment of Col. Saunders; Deane, Beke, and Mynne to that of Col. Twisleton. Monck shortly afterwards gave Knight the command of the first regiment, and Clobery that of the second.

[3] The Report on the MSS. of Mr. Leyborne-Popham contains a letter from Col. Miles Man, at Inverness, to Monck, respecting the signature of this test by the troops under his command (p. 125). Man had succeeded Smith as governor of Inverness (Baker, p. 687).

[4] The troops in question were apparently four troops of horse and six companies of foot sent by Monck to surprise Berwick about the end of October 1659. That

all officers and souldiers belonging to the said troops or companies are to observe and follow such orders and direccions as they shall receive from him, and in his absence from Majour Dennis. And hee likewise to observe and follow such orders and direccions as hee shall receive from the Parliament, his Lordshippe, and his superiour officers.

The Commissioners of the Army of Scotland to General Monck

My Lord, lii. f. 16.

Wee have spent the most parte of this day with my Lord Lambert att Yorke, who uppon our accesse to him was pleased to tell us that hee had power from the Lord Fleetwood and the officers att London and Committee of Safety to treate and agree with us. Butt wee insisting earnestly on restoring the Parliament, hee was pleased to tell us in the end that hee was restricted onely in that particular, and that there was a mutuall engagement betwixt the officers att London, and those that came downe with him, that nothing should bee done therin without their joynt consent:[1] and his Lordshippe, setting forward for Newcastle to-morrow, has promised to returne to my Lord Fleetwood an accompt of the sense of the officers heere in the North in that particular with all possible speede. My Lord, wee shall bee very loth to goe besides our Instructions in that Article. My Lord Lambert has confirm'd all the Articles assented to by Col. Lilburne, of which wee gave your Lordshippe an accompt from Durham. Wee desire your Lordshippe to direct all your letters to us att Mr. William Carye's, Goldsmith in Fleetstreete, superscribing your owne name on the backside of the letter; for wee have assurance that such lettres onely shall nott bee open'd as are directed from your Lord-

enterprise failing, they were quartered about Alnwick (Baker, p. 687). Farmer was major of Morgan's regiment of horse, Dennis of the regiment of foot lately under Cobbett's command.

[1] Compare *Whitelocke's Memorials*, iv. 382.

shippe to us, or from us to your Lordshippe. My Lord Lambert expressed himself very free in his desires to give your Lordshippe a meeting att Berwick, and was troubled that some had done ill offices betwixt your Lordshippe and him, which hee was well assured were noe freinds to either of you. My Lord Fleetwood likewise was hardly perswaded to stay att London, but would gladly have comed downe and given you a meeting in order to a freindly composure, of which wee despaire nott. Your Lordshippe shall have a further accompt of our progresse in this businesse by every opportunity, and wee shall bee very faithfull and industrious in the management of the trust reposed in us. Wee remayne

Your Lordshippe's humble servants,

R. KNIGHT, JO. CLOBERY, TIMO: WILKES.

Tadcaster,
8 Nov., 1659.

General Lambert to the Commissioners of the Army of Scotland

lii. f. 20b. Gentlemen,

When wee were together at Yorke, I agreed at your desire that no pacquetts passing betwixt Gen: Monck and yourselves should be broken open, and had (as I then acquainted you) given direccions to all the forces in these parts to lye still in their quarters, understanding from yourselves, and also from Col. Lilburne, that Gen: Monck had agreed unto the same, and that hee had already given orders for that purpose, and, if I mistake not, that his reere forces should not advance; since which time I am certainly informed that hee is marcht towards Berwick, and this is from one who came with him one dayes march. This passage is so contrary to my expectation as truly I cannot chuse but looke upon my selfe [as] deceived therein, and conceiving it my duty not to suffer any thing which may under any pretence wronge the trust repos'd in mee, I hold my selfe obliged to give stop to the pacquetts, except they come authorized by the Committee of Safety or my Lord Fleetwood. I shall take care none of them be opened, but safely return'd to my

Lord Fleetwood's hands. I hope you will put a candid interpretacion upon this resolucion, as not tending towards a further breach, but can truly say it, and to you doe affirme it, that my soule longes for such an accomodacion betwixt the armyes as may tend to the glory of God, the peace of these Nacions, and preservacion of that interest which God has owned as his owne, and from which I shall (the Lord enabling mee) never part, and which as a true Englishman and true freind to them and you I recommend to your care, and remayne,

Gentlemen,

Your assured loveing freind and servant,

J. LAMBERT.

Yorke the 11th Novr. 1659.

For my honoured freinds Col. Wilkes, Lt. Col. Clobery, and Major Knight at London.

J. LAMBERT.

Extract from General Monck's Order Book

12 November, 1659.

Order to Lieutenant Colonel John Hublethorne, Commissary Fleetwood, Captain Jeremiah Smyth, Captain William Downes, Mr. Thomas Gumble, Mr. John Price, and Mr. William Clarke, that wheras there may bee severall lettres come by the post which may bee of dangerous consequence if they should bee permitted to passe to the persons to whome they are directed, to aucthorize them, or any three or more of them, to search and peruse such lettres as shall from time to time come by the post, or such as goe for London, or other parts of England, and nott to permitt any others to bee present att the viewing and perusall of them, and to make stoppe of such as they shall thinke fitt. xlix. f. 104.

[1] Compare Gumble's *Life of Monck*, p. 140.

Newsletter

xxxii. f. 103. *November* 12 (?).—I received yours of November the 2d, and have of late forborne, because the passage hath not beene free. What you may safely write as to matter of fact, without opinion, bee pleased at leisure to impart. Things heere in the South are in a perplexed condition; the lawe is tottering, the Citty is wavering, the Clergy declineing, the people murmering, and nothing but the face of confusion appeares; the divisions are soe greate, military and civill, certainely some greate judgement attends this place and the whole land. If it doe come, God is just; his mercyes and deliverances have beene abased by the sinister ends which have beene made thereof. Wee expect the Commissioners from Generall Monck this weeke; as things proceede therein yow shall understand further.

J. R.

A Lettre from the Commissioners of the Militia of Westminster and partes adjacent, directed and delivered to Lt. Gen. Fleetwood, to bee communicated to the Councill of Officers: As also a resolve of the said Commissioners in answer to a letter directed to them from the pretended Committee of Safetie

xxxii. f. 97. Gentlemen,

Wheras wee understand there are Commissioners arrived in this place from Generall Monck to treate concerning the Restauration of the Parliament, wee being unwilling, and indeed (through the deare love of our Country) unable to omitt anythinge that may bee our duty, or in our power, conducing to soe pious and conscientious an end, most earnestly desire that you would bee instrumentall in this juncture towards the Restauration of the Parliament. Nott to trouble you att this time with such arguments for a duty (as wee conceive soe incumbent uppon you) as you have heard, or mett with from other hands, or that may

concerne your countries, or our selves, butt with such onely as relate to your owne peculiar interest, wee doe nott thinke that you will find any example of any army taking civill power uppon them, which hath [not] bin forthwith debauched or broken with the weight of itt. This recommendation of our selves unto you, and of your selves unto your selves, wee thought fitt to lay before you, and Remayne

Your loving freinds,

November 14, 1659.

Uppon reading of a letter from the pretended Committee of State, directed to the said Commissioners, they came to this resolution :—

November 14, 1659.—Resolved, That the Commissioners of this Militia hold themselves bound in duty and conscience to bee faithfull and constant to the auchthority of Parliament by which they sitt, and not to receive any order from, or give accompt unto, any other then the Parliament or Councill of State.

General Monck's Proceedings with the Commissioners of Scotland

November 15, 1659.—This day there was a meeting of my Lord Generall and the commissioners from the shires and burroughes in the Parliament House att Edinburgh. The noblemen sent from the shires chose the Earle of Glencairne their præses, and the burghes Sir James Stuart.[1] xxxii. f. 98.

[1] *Clarke's Papers* do not contain any account of the preliminaries of this meeting, nor any of the letters convening it. In the Court Book of the burgh of Banff, however, there appears an entry of a letter from General Monck to the boroughs of Banff and Cullen, which was read on Nov. 7, 1659: 'Gentlemen, I desyre yow will be pleased to aggrie amongst your selfes to send ane of your number to meit with me heir at Ed. (?) the fyifteint day of November, because I have ane especiall occasione to speik with them about some effairis that concerne the countrye at this tyme, which is all at present from your very louieing freind and servand. Datit at Edr. the 27 October 1659. Subscryvit thus George Monck.'

My Lord Generall did in a speech breifly sett forth to them: My Lords and Gentlemen,

Haveing a call from God and his people to march into England, to assert and mainetaine the liberty and being of Parliaments, our antient constitution, and theirin the freedome and rights of the people of these three nations from arbitrary and tyrannicall usurpations upon their consciences, persons, and estates, and for a godly ministry, I doe theirfor expect from you the nobility, gentlemen, sheriffe, and the rest of the justices of peace, and each one of yow, that yow doe preserve the peace of the Comonwealth in the shire. And I doe hereby authorize yow to suppresse all tumults, stirrings, and unlawfull assemblies, and that yow hold noe correspondency with any of Charles Stuart's party or adherents, but apprehend any such as shall make any disturbance, and send them into the next guarrison. And doe further desire yow to countenance and encourage the godly ministry, and all that truely feare God in the land. And that yow continue faithfull to owne and assert the interest of Parliamentary goverment in the severall places and stations. I hope my absence wilbee very short, but I doe assure yow that I will procure from the Parliament whatever may bee for the good goverment and releife of this nation, and doubt not but to obtaine abaitements in the assesse and other publique burthens, according to the proportion of England. And what further services I may bee able, I shall not bee wanting in, that I may promote the happiness and peace of this afflicted people. I shall not trouble yow further, but begg your prayers, and desire yow to assure your selves that I am

Your faithfull freind and
humble servaint,
GEORGE MONCK.

Edinburgh,
15 November, 1659.

Accordingly Robert Sharp, Sheriff Clerk of Banff, was chosen commissioner, with an allowance of three pounds Scots per diem, to cover his expenses.—*Annals of Banff*, i. 141 (New Spalding Club).

I desire yow to send me word under your hands how farr yow will comply with my desires.

I desire yow that what is behind of the last foure monthes of the twelve moneths assesse may bee in a readiness against it is called for.[1]

Answer of the Commissioners to General Monck

November 16.—Itt is the opinion of the commissioners from the severall shires that some of their number bee appoynted in name of the whole, to represent to the Lord Generall their sence of his Lordshipp's tendernesse and care of the peace and saifety of this aflicted country, and of his resolution to contribute for the ease and releife of the burthens lying theiron; and to tender their harty and thanckfull acknowledgement theirfor, desireing the continuance theirof, and to signifie that the said commissioners are for themselves well satisfied with his Lordshipp's engagement and grounds theirof exprest in his speach to them theranent; and will to their power bee instrumentall with their severall shires to comply and concurr with his Lordshipp's desires, wherein they are most hopefull to prevaile. But in respect of their present incapacity to prevent or suppresse any stirring or tumults, they do desire my Lord Generall to propose such expedients as his Lordshipp shall thinke most fitt to enable them for that end, which they may represent to their severall shyres for their harty complyance and condescendency. As also that my Lord Generall xxxii. f. 100.

[1] In *Mercurius Politicus*, Dec. 8–15, 1659, a correspondent writing from Newcastle gives an abstract of 'a Scotish Diurnal, the first that came forth in print in Edinburgh, commencing from Tuesday, November 29, to Saturday, December 3, 1659. Printed by Christopher Higgins, in Hart's Close, over against the Trone Church. The title of it . . . is the *Faithful Intelligencer*.' Monck's letter, given above, is printed there, with some changes, and is reproduced with a running commentary by the writer in *Mercurius Politicus* (p. 985). When the representatives of the shires met at Edinburgh, Monck 'in a very few, yet pithy expressions, . . . delivered the substance of the letter ensuing.' Consequently this is sometimes described as Monck's speech, sometimes as his letter. *Cf.* Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 257; Wodrow, *History of the Church of Scotland*, ed. 1828, i. 60.

would be pleased to appoint watches towards the Hylandes and Borders for preserveing the country from the danger of theft and robbery, according as the particular shyres shall make their severall addresses to his Lordshipp for that effect.[1]

The Commissioners of the Army of Scotland to the Officers there

lii. f. 16b. Deare Freinds,

Being come to some issue in the matter comitted to our charge, we have heir sent yow a coppy of what is agreed unto by the Lord Fleetwood and Generall Councell of Officers here, and our selves.[2] For the particular reasons of our condescentions to some things, wheirin happily yow may conceive we have stretch't our

[1] Amongst the MSS. of Lord Kinnaird calandared in the fifth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission are the following three papers: A Commission appointing George Kinnaird of Rossie and Mr. John Nairne to meet General Monck at Edinburgh on October 10, 1659, to discuss the affairs of the county; a letter to Monck, dated Perth, October 26, on public affairs and on the situation created in Perthshire by Monck's intention to march into England, both with regard to the occupation of the Scottish fortresses and concerning the arming of the Scots; a Commission dated December 8, 1659, appointing Sir George Kinnaird to repair to Monck at Berwick as commissioner for the county (p. 621).

[2] The articles of agreement between Monck's and Fleetwood's commissioners are to be found in *Clarke MSS.* li. f. 17. They are not printed because they are already in print in Baker's *Chronicle* (p. 693) and in Toland's *Collection of Monck's Letters* (No. XIII.). The agreement, which is dated November 15, consisted of nine articles:

1. To oppose Charles Stewart, or anyone claiming in his name a right to the government.

2. To oppose the setting up of any single person, and to endeavour to settle a commonwealth.

3. That no form of government should be set up without the approval of a General Council of officers representing the armies of the three nations and the fleet. Regulations as to the constitution of this Council.

4. A Parliament to be summoned as soon as possible. Qualifications of its members to be determined by the representatives of the armies and certain persons named.

5. The army in Scotland to be paid its proper share of the assessments.

6. Case of officers suspended or dismissed to be determined by fourteen

instructions very farr, we referr yow to the Lord Generall Monck, whom we hope we have satisfied touching such our actions, and who we doubt not but will satisfie yow theirin. Also our consciences can beare us witnesse that we have managed this interest of yours in the sincerity of our heartes to the best advantage that the temper of the people of this nation would affoard, the posture of affaires here giveing ous good ground to suspect that the issue of this difference, if longer continued, would be noe advantage to your selves or the bretheren of England, but of the comon enemy onely. This is the accompt we can afford you of what is hitherto finished in the particulars we came instructed in. And what further shall be mutually determined here yow shall receive a faithfull account from

Your loveing freinds and servaints,

TIMOTHY WILKES.
JOHN CLOBERY.
R. KNIGHT.

Charing Crosse,
16th November, 1659.

For the Generall Councill
of Officers of the Army in Scotland.

Lieutenant-General Fleetwood to Major-General Lambert

My Lord,

In pursuance of the ninth Article, touchinge the withdrawing the forces, I desire your Lordship to march back the forces drawne forth upon the present difference into such quarters as they may best secure and preserve the peace of the Commonwealth, according to the tenor of the agreement, the time of which marching back I

commissioners, chosen half from the army in Scotland and half from that in England.

7. Indemnity for officers, soldiers, and others concerned in the differences which had arisen since October 10.

8. The Ministry and the universities to be countenanced and maintained.

9. Forces on both sides to be drawn back.

desire you will communicate unto Generall Monck, he being to conforme in the marching back of his forces to the same time.

Your Lordshipp's affeccionate freind
and servant,
C. FLEETWOOD.

Wallingford House, 16th November, 1659.

The Commissioners of the Army of Scotland to General Monck

liii. f. 18. May it please your Lordship,

In pursuance of the 9th Article, touching withdrawing the forces, wee desire your Lordship to march back your forces, drawne forth upon the present differences, into such quarters as they may best secure and preserve the peace of the Commonwealth according to the tenor of the Article; the time of which marching back wee have agreed to be such as my Lord Lambert shall intimate to you, your forces and his being to march back both at the same time. Wee rest

Your Lordshippe's most humble and
faithfull servants,
TIM. WILKES.
JOHN CLOBERY.
RALPH KNIGHT.

Charing Crosse, 16th November, 1659.

Wee are prest to a debate touching the conduct of the army, which hitherto wee have waved, and shall endeavour to do so till wee have your Lordshippe's instructions particularly in that case, which wee intreat you would speed to us.

To Mr. William Clarke

xxxii. f. 102. Honoured Sir,

I sent a messinger to Auckland in Bishopprick of Durham to inquire for Sir Arthur Heslerigge. I received a letter in answear that he was in London, but they had sent to him. Newcastle Towne and Tynemouth Garrison declareing for the army, puts our

Gentry in a feare to act any thing, for Coll. Lilburne sends papers to that Sheriffe to require all persons to obey his papers; yett there is gott together above 100 horsemen of the Militia troope for the Parliament, which doe quarter neere Alnewick. I heare that those troopes in Newcastle doe take free quarter already. If my Lord Generall Monck's forces were in our Nation, I am of opinion hee would have many freinds; att present they dare nott declare. Justice Ogle received a letter from the Committee of Safetie, signed 'Johnston, President,' to draw his troope together. They doe promise to pay the Militia their arreares and satisfie them for their present service, and withall to send uppe the names of the officers to receive commissions from the Lord Fleetwood; butt hee will nott act for them if they would make him Commander in Cheif of the North. Hee is very forward in defence of the Parliament of England, and hopes the Generall will stand for the liberties of the English Nation, our lawes, and the Gospell, that is now att the stake if the armies doe beare sway. The Governor of Newcastle sent out a partie of horse to take them away prisoners; butt if I can gett none butt my self I will stand by his Lordshippe in this quarrell. J. O.[1]

The Commissioners of the Army of Scotland to General Monck

May it please your Lordship, lii. f. 21b.

Since our last by the Messenger sundry proposalls not touch'd upon in the Agreement have been made to us, particularly to joyne with the forces here in their resolves touching the conduct of the

[1] Henry Ogle was in 1655 captain of the Northumberland troop of Militia, and held the same command in 1659 (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1659–60, p. 94). Gumble speaks of 'Captain Ogle, with his five sons, with the two small Militia troops of Northumberland,' who assisted Monck from the first (Gumble, p. 194). Price describes the Captain as 'an honest old man, zealous for the good old cause' (p. 744, ed. Maseres; see also Baker, p. 697). This letter was probably written by one of the Ogles.

Army, as also touching a way of rayseing money for the supply of the forces, which will scarcely admit of delay till the Parliament be conveened. Wee have refused to joyne in either of these till wee receive your Lordshipp's further instruccions, which wee desire you would please to afford us with all possible speed. This wee thought necessary to impart to you by this opportunity, though wee have good ground to conceive that your Lordshipp will not be free wee should act any thing touching them, but referre them to the Parliament's determinacion. The two Kinges of France and Spaine are certainely agreed, and the Lord Lockhart and Mr. Downing newly arrived here. This is the summe of what wee have to impart to your Lordship at this time, and remayne

Your Lordship's most humble servants,

TIM. WILKES.
JOHN CLOBERY.
RA. KNIGHT.

Charing Crosse,
November 17th, 1659.

General Monck to the Commissioners of Scotland

xxxii. f. 101. My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have received your opinion by some of your number, and doe take notice of your great respect to mee, that you are pleased to have such a sence of my endeavours in preserving the peace of this country, for which I desire to signifie to you the Lords, Gentlemen, and Burgesses, my very affecciṇate and hearty thankes.

I doe further take notice of your good affeccions to the Parliament of England, and your resolution to preserve the peace and saifty of this country, in caise God shall be pleased to call ous to the assistance of our freinds in England. And I doe further assure yow for this your great service to the Comonwealth of England at such a tyme of hazard and danger, that I will make good to the utmost of my power my former promises, and will use all meanes for the ease and releife of this afflicted nation.

For giveing yow any further power then I have done in my

Gentry in a feare to act any thing, for Coll. Lilburne sends p
to that Sheriffe to require all persons to obey his papers;
there is gott together above 100 horsemen of the Militia troo
the Parliament, which doe quarter neere Alnewick. I heare
those troopes in Newcastle doe take free quarter already. I
Lord Generall Monck's forces were in our Nation, I am of o
hee would have many freinds; att present they dare nott d
Justice Ogle received a letter from the Committee of S
signed 'Johnston, President,' to draw his troope together.
doe promise to pay the Militia their arreares and satisfie
for their present service, and withall to send uppe the
of the officers to receive commissions from the Lord Fleet
butt hee will nott act for them if they would make him
mander in Cheif of the North. Hee is very forward in def
the Parliament of England, and hopes the Generall will st
the liberties of the English Nation, our lawes, and the
that is now att the stake if the armies doe beare sway
Governor of Newcastle sent out a partie of horse to tak
away prisoners; butt if I can gett none butt my self I wi
by his Lordshippe in this quarrell. J

The Commissioners of the Army of Scotlan
General Monck

May it please your Lordship,

Since our last by the Messenger sundry proposalls not
upon in the Agreement have been made to us, particularly
with the forces here in their resolves touching the conduct

[1] Henry Ogle was in 1655 captain of the Northumberland troop of M
held the same command in 1659 (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1659–6
Gumble speaks of 'Captain Ogle, with his five sons, with the two sm
troops of Northumberland,' who assisted Monck from the first (Gumbl
Price describes the Captain as 'an honest old man, zealous
(p. 744, ed. Maseres; see also Baker, p. 697). This lette
one of the Ogles.

[illegible]

Your Lordship's most humble servants,

Tim Wilkes
John Clobery
Ra. Knight

[illegible] the Commissioners of [illegible]

[illegible]

of a freindly
n a resolucion
and in such a
out a shaddow
in for the true
I cannott ap-
erence can re-
that wee have
Comon Enemy
seeking persons
gh the mercy of
our breaches, I
out one of them,
ither the Comon
ikely, or another
that power which
, this is vissable to
be gainesayed by
es ingage in blood,
terest, and a doore
Nations; which the
is hopes and feares
rences of the army
n if that difference
n are wise in their
hath putt an oppor-
ble to the interest of
ll closing with your
advice and consent,
pposeing things dis-
and true interest of
d on them by multi-
ance wilbee certainely
; nether are they able

letters to prevent or suppresse any tumults or stirrings, I have not had tyme to consider of any better way at present, but at the next returne from the severall shyres by the twelveth of December, I shall then thincke of the best way to enable yow to secure the peace of the country.

As to the appointing of watches upon the countries next the Highlands, or upon the Borders, if yow please to give me a noate of what shyres will joyne together for the maintaineing of a watch, and the number of men to bee imployed, and of a fitt person or persons to command them, I shall then give him or them power to have soe many men under his or their conduct for the protecting of those shyres and parts from robbers. And that those shyres that have watches for their security doe give ingaigements under their hands for such men that doe command or are commanded, that they shall act nothing against the Parliament or Commonwealth of England.

Edinburgh,
17th of November, 1659.

Dr. John Owen to General Monck

My Lord, xxxii. f. 196.

I had made bold to have written unto you att the beginning of the late differences that have falne out betweene you and your freinds heere in England, but that I feared least prejudices and mistaikes might have rendred my soe doing only troublesome unto your Lordshipp and uselesse in its selfe; for though I knew my selfe to bee an utter strainger to that which was the occasion of the breach betweene you, yett the misrepresentations of things that I found prevaileing amongst ous would not suffer me to be confident that I should escaipe from a share in itt. But now, finding the infinitely wise and gratious providence of God working things towards a closure betweene yow, I could not withhold from contributeing my mite also unto soe good a worke, haveing already laboured unto my utmost in this place for the furtherance of a

mutuall condescension, which must bee the meanes of a freindly composure and end of this bussinesse, their being then a resolucion on all hands of fixing on a free Commonwealth; and in such a way, as that whatever wee have yet attained hath bin but a shaddow of what is now aimed att, and care to bee taken theirin for the true interest of Christ, and that of men sober and godly. I cannott apprehend that any just and warrantable cause of difference can remaine amongst yow. Their are, my Lord, two evills that wee have cause to feare: the one is the prevailing of the Comon Enemy over ous; the other the prevailencie of fanaticall selfe seeking persons amongst ous. By your union both of these, through the mercy of God, wilbee prevented. By a continuance in your breaches, I cannott say both (because they are inconsistant), but one of them, that is one or the other, will certainely ensue: either the Comon Enemy will devoure ous all, which is the most likely, or another sort of men will have opportunity to lay hould on that power which will not easily be wrested from them. However, this is vissable to the whole world, freinds and enemies, nor can it be gainesayed by any with the least couler of reason; if the armies ingage in blood, their is a grave maid for our whole cause and interest, and a doore of ruine opened to all the sober godly in both Nations; which the old enemy is soe sencable and assured of, that his hopes and feares goe upp and downe, according as the differences of the army seemes to widen or to close, noe otherwise then if that difference were an army for Charles Stuart, and these men are wise in their generation. It is certaine, my Lord, that God hath putt an opportunity into your hands to be eminently servicable to the interest of good men in these Nations, for your cordiall closing with your freinds heere, carrying on things of common advice and consent, will exceedingly strenghten their hands in opposeing things distructive to the liberty of the Commonwealth and true interest of the saints, which are attempted to bee imposed on them by multitudes of men, and a continuance at this distance wilbee certainely ruinous, both to the armies and their freinds; nether are they able

to prevent itt, who desire most to see yow both ingaged in blood, while they intend to warme themselves by the fires that [you] kindle. Finding then by the Declaration and letters, and some conference with the Commissioners sent by yow hither, that your principalls and those of your freinds here are universally the same, I cannott conjecture what cause of difference should remaine; but because the sitting againe of the last Parliament is by some spoaken of as a sufficient cause of itt, I shall offer my thoughts to your Lordshipp on that particular. Most of the persons of that number are my old freinds and acquantance. I may say freely that I ventered somwhat for their sitting. I know nothing at all of their dissolution, being for about five weakes before absent from this place; nor shall I take off from their esteeme by a reveiw of their actings during their session. Yet this I shall say, that it were better that both they, and I, and hundreds of better men then my selfe were in the ends of the earth, then that this [cause] should be ruined by the armies contest about them. For my owne part I am satisfied with these two things: first, that without there restauration a free state or Comonwealth may be setled, the Common Enemy defeated, the ministry preserved, reformation carryed on, and all the ends of our ingagements satisfied, if your Lordshipp and those with you concurre in the worke; and, secondly, that their reinvestiture cannott be effected without the blood of them whose ruine I am perswaded you seeke not, as on other accounts soe because I find them cordially assert and honour yow, as also the enslaveing of these Nations forever to the will of the major part of that small number. For that they should sitt downe againe, with thoughts of passing by what is past, looking onely forwards future settlement, and issuing their power theirin, cannott fall on the imagination of any wise man, but only those who are distant from this place, nor doe any amonge themselves pretend to such resolutions. I have spoaken my heart plainely and honestly unto your Lordshipp in these things, as in the presence of God, without respect to persons or parties. And much more I would willingly add, were it not for feare of

being esteemed importunate to presse on you in your weighty affaires. Yea, out of that sincere honour I have long borne you, [I] would willingly waite on yow in person, should yow comand it, for the assurance of the assured setlement of love betweene yow and your freinds in this Nation. My Lord, yow shall on all occasions find me a true lover of my countryes liberties, an enemy to all usurpations upon itt, and one resolved to live and dye with the sober godly interest; and, finding your Lordshipp on the same principles, I have bin free with yow beyond the rules of that cautiousnesse which the difficulties of the season seemes to call for; but I walke by noe such rule. The manie things of all lawfull difference betweene yow and your freinds heere being secured by the agreement of your Commissioners, let me in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and on the account of his interest in the whole earth, in the name of all the trembling saints in these Nations, begg of you to bee instrumentall in putting a perfect issue and perpetuall oblivion to the late breach and division, as the only visable medicin, under the providence of God, to prevent the utter ruine of all that is deare unto you and ous. I have only to add my desire that yow would beleive mee to be what in sincerity I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordshipp's most humble, faithfull and affectionate servant,

JNO. OWEN.

Westminster,
November 19, 1659.

Major-General Lambert to General Monck

Hi. f. 22 Sir,

Capt. Lloyd being sent hither by his Excellency the Lord Fleetwood and the generall Councill of the Armies of England and Ireland now at London, with the Agreement made betwixt them and the Commissioners appointed by yourselfe and the generall Councell of Officers in Scotland, with instruccions to mee to see some of the particulars thereof put in execution, I thought it my

duty, in order to the full accomplishment of a peace and right understanding between the armyes (so much desired by all good men), to transmitt a copy of the same to you with all expedition by the hands of Major Cambridge, Capt. Lloyd, and Capt. Wallington, to the end the same may be ratifyed by your selfe and generall Councell of Scotland, who are appointed from us Commissioners on that behalfe, the same haveing already been performed by the Councell in England, whereof I doubt not you have received a full account from the Commissioners at London. For what concernes the matters conteyned in the ninth clause, together with an order from my Lord Fleetwood thereupon (a copy whereof I have here inclosed sent you), I shall forthwith, upon notice of the ratification on your part, dispose and order the forces to such quarters as by the said Agreement is intended, and shall give you an account of the time accordingly. And for what concernes the sixt Article, in the case of the officers lately suspended, the seaven persons to be nominated by us on that behalfe shall attend you at the time and place appointed. And for what may further concerne the expeditious consumacion of the said Treaty, I referre it to the Commissioners abovementioned. I have no more at present, but subscribe myselfe,

Sir,

Your affeccionate freind and humble servant,

J. LAMBERT.

New Castle, 21 Nov., 1659.

To the Right Honourable Generall Monck, Commander in Cheife of the forces in Scotland. These.

Newsletter

London, November 22.—The Grandees of the army have been labouring to gett 40 of the old members to sitt againe, and doe some drudgery for them, as to passe the act for 100,000*li.* per mensem assessement, &c., but it's thought they cannot gett so many; but they have about 22 that have consented to sitt. I have told xxxii. f. 180.

severall Parliament men, that if they would not send downe some of their House and assist and strengthen G. M. with their councell, &c., hee must be inforc't to treate. They cryed still, if hee did but keepe Scotland hee will doe his worke, and that all passages being stop't they could not gett to him. Wee are like to have strange alteracions when such persons are a quorum, for it is thought not a man of those five chosen by the Commissioners, except the Lord Warreston (who is for any change), will meddle with the businesse. The Lord knowes our liberties and freedomes as men or Christians doe now stand but on very weake foundacions, except they keepe their oathes, promises, and engagements better then yett they have done. However, they are surer in a Parliament then in 90,000 of them. The letter to my Lord Major will bee delivered to morrow, a common councell being called already; it was judged meet to deliver it by severall members of Parliament. The Judges brake up the terme on Saturday, and will not sitt by this power. All thinges are worse and worse.

The Council of Officers in Scotland to their Commissioners in England

lii. f. 19. Gentlemen,

Wee have received yours of the 16th instant, and doe finde cause to returne you our hearty thankes for the greate care and paines yow have taken in the common cause, which wee could have wish't might have had the desired successe of produceing an happy and perfect agreement. But as wee finde there som things necessarie thereto which have not as yet been treated of or concluded by yow, soe wee finde some things, amongst those to which yow have already given your consent, in which wee have reason to think yow have mistaken your Instructions. Wee have therefore resolved, to the end the agreement which wee all ayme at may bee not onely firme and sure, but perfect alsoe and cleare, and not lyable to any misconstructions, to add two more to your number, and to furnish them with such further Instructions as wee shall

conceive to bee necessary for the full accomplishing of the busines.[1] In order to which wee desire yow to repaire to the Lord Fleetwood, and to such other officers as you shall see convenient, and to acquaint them with thus much, and withall to desire a safe conduct to bee sent to us for such persons as wee shall have occasion to send, and to let them know that since the time of the Treaty the pacquetts have not bin soe free as wee did expect, which wee conceive to bee one greate reason of the present mistakes; for wee cannot attribute it to your neglect that wee have heard noe oftner from you since yow went, and that before yow have concluded uppon things soe much besides your Instructions you did not send to us for new. Wherefore, for the prevention of such inconveniencies for the future, and for the convenience of quick returnes of dispatches uppon emergencies, it is our desire that the Treaty may bee att York, which is at an equall distance from the Head Quarters on both sides, unles in regard of my Lord Lambert's being in the North yow can procure it to bee att Newcastle, which would much expedite the busines. Wee leave it to themselves to appoint the time, and wee wish (out of our earnest desire of peace) it might bee as soone as possible; and wee desire yow uppon the very first oppertunity to acquaint us with it, and to repaire thither to expect such as shall bee joyned in commission with yow (who shall likewise uppon advertisement make all speed to yow), and in the meane time to forbeare all further concludeing uppon anything in our names, and to beleeve that, as your friends heere are sensible of the greate endeavoures and progresses you have made in bringing things so neere to a happy issue, soe they are still mindefull of that good cause in which they are embark't,

[1] According to Phillips, Monck was informed of the terms of the agreement, by the industry of Clarges, before the messengers mentioned in Lambert's letter arrived. They reached Edinburgh, says the same authority, the evening before the day on which the answer of Monck's officers was drawn up—*i.e.* on the evening of November 23. Of the officers named on p. 125, Cambridge was major of Twisleton's, Griffith Lloyd captain in Fleetwood's horse, and Joseph Wallington captain in Desborough's.

and for which they have declared, and that it is not any apprehention they have of change in the state of affaires, or any mistrust to goe happily through with what they have soe sincerely and uprightly begun, that makes them thus earnest to seeke peace and ensue it, but onely a deep sence of the danger the comon cause, and even the whole three Nations, may incurr in case things should be brought to extremity, and an earnest and zealouse affection for those who have bin soe long theire brethren, and whose interest is soe neerely joyned with theires. Gentlemen, we comitt yow to the protection of the Almighty, whome wee beseech to direct your Councells, and Remaine

Your very affectionate friends and servants,

GEORGE MONCK.	WM. UNDERHILL.
THO: MORGAN.	AA: MOODY.
C. FAIRFAX.	THO: ELLIS.
THOMAS READE.	RO: FORSTER.
ROBT. READE.	SAM. WILKES.
ETHELBERT MORGAN.	JOHN TRUSS.
JO: HUBBLETHORNE.	JO: NICHOLLS.
JERE: SMYTH.	PHIL. CORBET.
DAN: DAVISON.	GEO: SELBY.
JAMES MUTLOW.	TI. SPOKLOTH.
J. EMERSON.	OB: HOWARD.
FRA: NICHOLLS.	LYTCOTT.
J. OGLE.	JO: MUTLOW.
JOSEPH WILTEN.	JOHN HILL.
JA: DENNIS.	FRAN: HARTLEY.
MICH: RICHARDSON.	TIMO: LANGLEY.
RI: CLIFTON.	WM. MASON.
THO: JOHNSON.	WM. NEWMAN.
J. CLARKE.	THO: HUNT.
JO: MILLER.	JOHN ROGERS.
THO: GODWING.	FRAN: SERGANT.
JOSEPH FELLOW.	GREGORY CONSTABLE.

J. Robinson.	Hert. Browne.
Wm. Cowell.	Rob. Hawden.
Jo: Sanders.	John Curtes.
Robt. Heath.	Sam. Style.
Cha: Powell.	Giles Barnardistone.
Rich: Smyth.	Tho: Poole.
Rich. Collins.	

Edinburgh,
24 November, 1659.

For the Honourable Col. Wilkes, Lt.-Col. Cloberry, and Major Ralph Knight, Commissioners from the Parliament's Army in Scotland, these at London.

Though it bee not usuall in cases of this nature to put any thing in execution till an agreement bee made uppon the whole, yet wee are soe farr contented to shew our inclinations to peace as to take the same course in drawing back the forces advanced as shalbee taken by the Lord Lambert.

General Monck to Lieut.-General Fleetwood

My Lord, lii. f. 22.

I have received two letters from your Lordship, and by the same packett an agreement signed by your Lordship's hand, together with an intimacion that the same was signed by those gentlemen which were appointed by the Generall Councell of Officers here to treat with your Lordship. I am exceedingly rejoyced to find in your Lordship and the officers with you a spirit so complyeing and so tender of the publique peace, and shall upon intimacion had from my Lord Lambert what method he useth in drawing off the forces hee hath drawne toward us, observe the same here. But because I am desireous that this agreement of ours might be full and firme, and because I perceive that there are some things which remayne yet untreated of and unagreed upon, and

some of those thinges already consented unto by our commissioners which without further explication wee conceive cannot stand either with our declaracions or their instruccions, it is the resolucion of my selfe and the officers here to adde two more to their number, that they may conferre with the like number of such as shall be appointed by your Lordship and the Generall Councell of Officers with you, and to furnish them with such further instruccions as may be necessary to the putting a finall period to this unhappy businesse; and accordingly I desire your Lordship to send hither a safe conduct for them. It is my desire that the treaty may be held at Yorke, for the conveniencie of sending on both sides for such further instruccions as may be necessary upon emergent occasions, the want of which I take to be the cheife cause why the present treaty hath not had in all respects its desired effect; and I must take leave to tell your Lordship that the pacquett hath not had that freedome which I did expect, and which was necessary in order to the clearing of our misapprehensions. The time of the treaty I leave to your Lordship's owne choyce, onely desiring it might be as soone as possible, and if your Lordship would permit it to be at Newcastle (which may be done with conveniency enough to your Lordship in regard of the continuall recourse your commissioners may have to the Lord Lambert) it would very much expedite the businesse, of which I suppose your Lordship can be no lesse desirous then I am, because you cannot but be sensible that the whole three nations are in expectation of this issue, till which all publique businesse must needs be at a stand, unlesse it be that of the publique enemy, who cannot but apprehend his owne advantages, and will very loathly let them slip. My Lord, as in the time of our greatest misunderstanding and misapprehension, there was nothing of any personall relation either to your selfe or any officer with you, or indeed to any other then the common cause in which wee are all equally engaged, so I conceive it will be very easy, [as soon] as those thinges are cleared, to returne to that mutuall confidence and freindship

which on my part was never lost. And I can at this time as really and heartily as ever subscribe my selfe

Your Lordship's most humble and faithfull servant,

GEORGE MONCK.

Edinburgh,
24 November, 1659.

Lieut.-General Fleetwood,

My Lord,—I have now set at liberty all the imprisoned officers except Colonel Cobbet, whose case hath somewhat in it different from the rest, of which I shall give your Lordship a particular account hereafter. There are severall officers of mine who are stayed in England by your Lordship's or the Lord Lambert's order; I intreat your Lordship they may be permitted to come to their commands.

General Monck to Major-General Lambert

My Lord, lii. f. 22.

Before I received yours by Major Cambridge, Capt. Lloyd, and Capt. Wallington, I had received the agreement therein mentioned, and had upon that occasion called a generall Councell of officers, the result of which you will sufficiently understand by this inclosed, which is a copie of the letter they have written to their Commissioners. And I have written my selfe to the same purpose to the Lord Fleetwood. Now, Sir, that which is desired of you by mee and by the officers here is, that you would conceive this done in order to a sound and a cleare and perfect peace, and for no other intent and purpose. And if you shall think fitt, according to the Lord Fleetwood's order, to draw off such forces as have bin drawne towards us upon this occasion, I shall upon notice take the same course as you doe, or if you shall thinke fitt, as you have hitherto done, only to forbeare extending your quarters towards us till this second treaty may be had and finished; I desire to know your mind, that there may be no mistake between

us. I cannot but take notice of the reason you gave of your owne march to Newcastle, and of your stopping the packett, and (if you be not already satisfyed upon that point) I doe hereby assure you that your intelligence was wholly false, and that I did never march one mile towards Berwick till I was fully assured you were at Newcastle. And I doe intreat you for the future that you will not upon such kind of surmizes enter upon such actions, as have been a great cause that the late treaty hath not had altogether so happy an issue as (I conceive) was on both sides desired, and may be a meanes wholly to frustrate any other; but that dureing the treaty the packetts to and fro may neither be retarded nor opened, as some of them of late have been; and that if any such kind of informacions shall chance to come to your hands, that you will please to acquaint mee with them, and I shall endeavour therein to give you satisfaccion, and in all thinges to shew my selfe

Your Lordship's most humble and reall servant,

GEORGE MONCK.

Edinburgh,
24 November, 1659.

For sending Commissioners according to the sixt Article of the Agreement, because I conceive it will be part of the subject matter of the debate in the intended treaty, I shall forbeare it till that be over. If your Lordship thinks it fitt to stay at Newcastle I shall make my residence at Berwick with one troope of horse onely, but if you shall retire to Yorke I shall remayne at Edinburgh.

The Commissioners of the Army of Scotland to General Monck

liii. f. 23b. Right Honourable,

Wee have received your Lordshipp's of the 15th instant, by which wee understand that ours from Tadcaster of the 8th came safe to your hands, though opened, which was contrary to the

engagements made unto us. Wee hope there is nothing in the Agreement which wee sent your Lordshipp by an expresse but what is very consistent with your Declarations, that 4th Article of calling a Parliament being noe waise exclusive of the Long Parliament, but may bee as well understood of that as of any other. Wee have not touched uppon anything touching the conduct of the army, raiseing of monies, or owneing the power of the Committee of Safety, wherein as long as wee stand off wee think your cause can hardly receive detriment, and wee purpose to doe nothing therein without your perticular directions. Wee shall bee impatient till wee know how your Lordshipp doth approve of what is already done, wherein wee hope to receive satisfaction by the end of this weeke. Wee have heerein sent you the impression wherewith this letter is sealed, and all our letters are superscribed by the Lord Fleetwood; which is all wee shall burthen your Lordshipp with at present, and remaine

Your Lordshipp's most humble and faithfull servants,

TIMO: WILKES.
JOHN CLOBERY.
R. KNIGHT.

Charing Crosse,
24th November, 1659.

One of the Commissioners to the Officers of the Army in Scotland

Honnoured Sirs and my dear Freinds, lii. f. 24.

I can give you but a small account of things heere since my last in which I inclosed our agreement, which agreement, I understand, is by the officers with my Lord Lambert much disgusted; and sure I am that were it to bee done againe those heere would never consent to it, for soe they have sundry times expressed themselves. This day wee mett the Lord Whitlocke, Lord Warreston, Sir Hen: Vane, Lt.-Generall Ludlowe, Mr. Salway, Colonel Berry, and two Comissioners of Ireland in the Horse Chamber at

Whitehall, in pursuance of the 4th Artickle of the Agreement, and it was thought meete not to act upon that Article till Generall Monck had ratifyed the Agreement. Sir Hen: Vane declared that by a Parliament mencioned in that Article might bee understood the interrupted Parliament as well as any other, soe that you may see wee have not declined the restoringe of that Parliament, as some have rashly conceived; and sure I am in all other parts of our instructions wee have gained what wee could reasonably desire. I have beene in much trouble, and shall bee soe still till I heare how you aprove of what is done; wee expect Generall Monck's answer Tuesday next, and then our way will bee clear before us. Wee are informed that many of the officers in Scotland have laid downe, and many horse diserted you; how true it is wee knowe not. I have not received a letter from you since I came hither; possibly there is an interuption of the pacquetts, as I am very apt to conceive. I have noe more at this time, but my unfeigned love and respects unto you all, and remayne

Your most affectionate freind and humble servant,

London,
24 November, 1659.

Wee have yet done nothinge touchinge the conduct of the army, the power of the Committee of Safety, or raisinge of moneyes, to all which our concurrence hath beene desired, but wee expect to knowe your mindes therein before wee act.

The Commissioners of the Army of Scotland to General Monck

i. f. 24b. May it please your Lordshipp,

Since our last of the 22nd instant this hath occurred yesterday: a letter was presented to the Lord Mayor and Common Councill, to which was your Lordshipp's name and seale, and it was dated the 12th instant, and was presented by Collonel Mark-

ham of Ireland, and Collonel Atkins of Leith, the tennor of which letter was that your Lordshipp had sent them some former letters, which miscaryed, giving them an account of your purposes to maintaine the freedome of the Parliament lately interrupted, and setting forth the dangerouse consequences of slavery which would ensue to these nations if those who had a hand in interrupting the Parliament should take uppon them to repeale Acts of Parliament, as according to your information they had done, and that you did therefore invite them to give theire best assistance in the restoreing of the Parliament in this oppertunity, in which your Lordshipp had diverted a greate part of the forces towards the North.[1] These (as

[1] Monck's letter to the City, which is dated November 12, 1659, is amongst the *Clarke MSS.* (lii. 16b). It is printed in the *Old Parliamentary History* (xxii. 46), together with the answer of the City, which was not drawn up or sent till December 29 (cf. Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, ii. 357, 363). Both letters were printed at the time: *A letter of November 12 from General Monck, directed and delivered to the Lord Mayor, etc., of London, inciting them, and all true Englishmen, to give their assistance for redemption of the almost lost Liberties of England; Two Letters, the one sent by the Lord Mayor, etc., to Gen. Monck; the other, his Excellency's answer thereunto.*

Monck's letter, according to Whitelocke, 'was not well relished' by the prevailing party in the Common Council (*Memorials*, iv. 375; cf. Baker, p. 695). Accordingly the two gentlemen who delivered it were both committed to prison. A letter from Colonel Atkins to William Clarke about his imprisonment is printed in the *Report on Mr. Leyborne-Popham's MSS.*, p. 130. It was alleged that the letter was fictitious, on the ground that Monck made no reference to it in contemporaneous letters to his commissioners; and also that it was disavowed by the said commissioners, partly as inconsistent with the negotiations, and partly on account of the handwriting. 'The body of the letter was not written in the hand of Mr. Clarke, his usual secretary, as also that the signing "George Monck" differed somewhat from his hand in those other letters, and that the seal appeared not so exact and clear as the other sealings' (*Mercurius Politicus*, November 24–December 1, p. 912). The newspaper, however, made amends in a later number (December 22–29, p. 983), and, mentioning Colonel Markham, added that though Monck's letter 'was in those days censured, and upon some surmises represented as a fiction, time hath since manifested the contrary,' and its delivery by Atkins and Markham 'was a real and extraordinary service done for the Parliament in a doubtful time.' Markham for this and other services was made one of the seven persons appointed by Parliament to command the army till the Parliamentary commissioners should come to London (December 26).

neere as wee can remember) are the contents of the letter, at which the Lord Fleetwood and most of the officers heere take greate offence, and some have expressed themselves soe highly as to make it a breach of all that hath bin already done in order to an accomodation. Whether it bee your Lordshipp's letter or noe wee know not; and whether it be fitt for your Lordshipp to declare it to bee soe or not soe wee must submitt to your owne prudence; onely this wee think convenient to let you know, that in all likelyhood those that presented it wilbee secured till they give an accompt how it came to theire hands. Two (as wee are informed) opposed the reading of the letter in Common Councill, but it was carried that it should bee read. And after it was read, some heighth of spiritt being observed in many of the Cittezens, the more prudentiall part thought fitt presently to dissolve the meeting, which accordingly was done. This afternoone the Lord Whitlock, Sir Henry Vane, Lord Warreston, Sir James Harrington, Mr. Salwey, Lt.-Gen. Ludlow, Col. Berry, two of the Commissioners of Ireland, and ourselves mett at the Horse Chamber in Whitehall, in pursuance of the 4th Article of the Agreement; but the Lord St. John, Mr. Scott, and Col. Thompson appeared not, and Sir Henry Vane and some others declared some unwillingnes to act in the busines of that Article untill your Lordshipp had ratified the Agreement; and it was by the same persons acknowledged that by the word Parliament, or supreame deligated authority of the Commonwealth mentioned in the 4th Article of the Agreement, it was not determined whether the Long Parliament or any other Parliament, soe that wee are not thereby concluded, but may still insist uppon restoreing of the late Parliament. And this wee hope will affoard your Lordshipp some measure of satisfaccion touching that perticuler. People are generally under greate discontents, but wee cannot perceive they will act anything considerable. Wee received nothing from your Lordshipp by the last post, but now wee daily waite the returne of your answer to the

Agreement. Thus, with our humble duty to your Lordshipp, wee remaine,

Your Lordshipp's most humble and faithfull servants,

TIMO: WILKES.
JOHN CLOBERY.
R. KNIGHT.

Charing Crosse,
24th November, 1659.

Commission to General Monck as Commander-in-Chief

By the Councill of State appointed by Authority of Parliament. H. L. 51.

To Generall George Monck.

Whereas the Parliament, by vertue of theire instructions given to the Councill of State, have impowred them to command, order, and direct all the forces both by sea and land, raised, or to bee raised by authority of Parliament in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging; And uppon emergencyes to raise such other forces as they should judge necessary, and to give them commissions under the Seale of the Councill for the ends therein expressed; And whereas the Parliament is at present interrupted, and they hindered from the exercise of theire authority by a force putt and still continued upon them by some persons late officers of the army, whose commissions weere by order of Parliament declared voyde, by reason whereof diverse of the saide forces, being misled by those officers and others, are in opposition to the Parliament: The Councill, takeing into theire seriouse consideration what is theire duty in such a juncture of affaires, and in pursuance of theire instructions, have thereupon thought fitt to order and appoint, and doe heereby constitute and appoint yow to bee Commander-in-Cheife of all the forces raised, and to bee raised, within the dominions of England and Scotland, as well in feild as guarrisons. And yow

are heereby impowred to give unto such person or persons as yow shall judge faithfull, commissions; all which said forces yow are to take into your charge, and with them, or any part of them, to march, or cause the same to march into any part of England or Scotland, according as any occasion shall bee offered for the service of the Parliament and Commonwealth; and the said forces or any of them yow are to imploy for the secureing of the peace of the Commonwealth, the restoration of the Parliament, and the suppression of all persons whatsoever who are declared opposers of and enimies to the same. And to that end and purpose yow are heereby impowred and authorized to hinder all meetings, tumults, and insurrections which are or shalbee made to the prejudice of the publicque peace and of the Parliament. And with the saide forces or any of them yow are to feight with, kill, and destroy, or by any waies put to death all such who are in hostility against the Parliament, or doe oppose or hinder, and declare themselves to hinder, the sitting of the same. And yow are with them, or any of them, to fortifie, keepe, and defend any townes, castles, or howses which yow shall judge to bee for the publicque service. And yow have heereby power given unto yow to call and hold Courts Martiall, as often as yow shall finde necessary, for the tryall of any offences committed by any person belonging to the armies under your command, and for the punishment of the said persons for the same according to the law martiall and discipline of warr. And yow have alsoe heereby power given unto yow for the better accomodateing of the march of the armies, or any part of them, or the transportation of them from place to place, to imprest, or cause to bee imprested, any draught horses, teames, waggons, carts or carriages, shipps, boates, or vessells which yow shall judge fitt and necessary for the present service; and, if neede shall require, yow have heereby power to give ticquetts for the same, chargeing them uppon the publicque. And all the said forces within the limitts aforesaide, whether they bee in feild or garrison, are heereby commanded and required to bee obedient unto yow as

theire Comander-in-Cheife, and from time to time to observe and obey such orders as they shall receive from yow; and yow are to observe and obey such orders and directions as yow shall from time to tyme receive from the Parliament, the Councill of State, or shall bee agreed uppon by your selfe, Sir Arthur Heslerigg, Colonell Walton, Colonell Morley, Major-Generall Overton, or any three of yow. And this commission is to remaine in full force untill the Parliament shall give further or other order to the contrary. And the severall commissioners for the Militia and forces appointed by Parliament, or Councill of State, or other the forces of this Commonwealth, and alsoe all officers, military and civill, are heereby desired and required to bee aideing and assisting to yow in the execution of the premises, as they will answer the contrary at theire utmost perill.

Given under the Seale of the Councill of State, the fowre and twentieth day of November, in the yeare one thousand six hundered fifty and nine.

Signed in the name and by order of the Councill of State,
THO. SCOT, President.

Thursday, January 26th, 1659.

Resolved, &c.:

That the Parliament doth approve of the commission granted to Generall George Moncke by the Councell of State.

THOMAS ST. NICHOLAS, Clerke of the Parliament.

The Commissioners of the Army of Scotland to General Monck

May it please your Lordshipp, lii. f. 25b.

Wee have not received a letter from your Lordshipp this two posts, and are at a stand till wee heare from you how your Lordshipp and the officers with yow approve of the Agreement sent.

The Lord Lambert gives us to understand that hee hath sent to your Lordshipp from Newcastle, Major Cambridge, Capt. Wallington, and Capt. Lloyde to know your minde concerneing it. Colonell Markham and Collonell Atkins have appeared before the Committee of Safety, and declare that they are assured the letter they presented to the Lord Mayor and Common Councill was your Lordshipp's, and it is soe generally beleeved heere, and ill taken, being done in tymes of treaty. There came newse this day that the Lord Glencarne was President of the Assembly of the Scotche Gentlemen, and that your Lordshipp had put Dunnotter and Dumbarton Castles into the hands of the Scotts, which hath begotten greate jealousies heere that your Lordshipp hath a farther designe then is contained in your Declaration. Wee have endeavour'd to assure them of the contrary, well knowing your Lordshipp's integrity and fidellity to the good interest of those Nations. Wee shall not trouble your Lordshipp further at this time, but remaine

Your Lordshipp's most humble and faithfull servants,

TIMO: WILKES.
JOHN CLOBERY.

Charing Crosse,
26 November, 1659.

Wee heard that Mardike is sleighted, and that diverse of the French regiments are drawing downe towards Dunkirk, and that in Flanders severall regiments are drawing to the water side upon Charles Stewart's interest.

General Monck to the Commissioners of the Army of Scotland[1]

liii. f. 25. Gentlemen,

Yours of the 24th instant came safe to my hands, and I thinck unopened, though some of yours did not. There weere indeed

[1] This letter is neither addressed nor dated. It was evidently written on November 28.

severall letters written by mee to the Lord Maior, Aldermen, and Common Councill of London somewhat to that purpose which yow mention, and I think some of them about that time. If there bee any complainte made to yow about that busines, yow may tell them I had certaine intelligence that they were listing men, and raiseing and altering the Militiaes in severall places, perticularly in Yorkeshire by the Lord Lambert, and in London by the pretended Committee of Safety, and that the pacquetts betweene yow and us weere stopt and opened; all which was directly contrary to the Agreement made betweene yow and the Lord Lambert and Collonell Lilburne, which the other was not. There is nothing in those letters which either hath bin or was intended to bee prejudiciall to any agreement which might bee made betweene yow and them; for in case it had bin such as yow had had power to have made, or wee could have condescended to, it had bin stood to, notwithstanding those letters. If the forementioned actions of theires could stand with a desire and intention of peace, why might not those letters of mine? if not, what reason have they to complaine? I suppose before this time yow have understood the sence of the army heere concerneing your Agreement, and have acquainted the Lord Fleetwood and such others as was necessary with theire resolutions and desires. If they doe intend a further treaty yow may assure both your selves and them too that our intentions heere for peace are reall; if they doe not, I desire yow to make what hast yow can back for Scotland, where yow shalbee very welcome to all your friends, and in perticular to

Your assured loveing friend,

[GEORGE MONCK].

General Monck to the Commissioners

f. 26. Gentlemen,

I received yours of the 26th instant. I have written severall letters to your Lordshipp, but whether by those two posts yow speake of I cannot remember; I beleeve I did write at least by one of them, and that hath beene stopt, if yow did not receive it, for I have answered all your letters that came to my hands. However, I question not but that yow have received that wherein yow have an accompt of our sence of the Agreement, and of what wee desire yow to doe thereuppon, and my last of all, which was concerneing your letter to the Lord Mayor and Common Councill of London. If that trouble them soe much, yow may tell them further that there was noe agreement made that noe letters should bee sent dureing the Treaty. If there weere, what meant the letter they sent to the Gentlemen of Northumberland, and that of my Lord Lambert's sent by Major Cambridge to the Provost of Edinburgh, and those letters and bookes which theire owne messingers have brought hither, in particular those by Captaine Deane, who by his letters and his bookes and his secrett promises dissatisfied severall of the horse, and compell'd us to dismount them? I am certainely informed that hee perswaded them that they should rather suffer themselves to bee dismounted and disarmed then joyne with us according to theire duty, and promised them reparations in that case. Besides this there was a troope of horse put into Carlile, and the Lord Lambert advanced severall of his forces to Durham, and marcht himselfe to Newcastle, uppon an information which I cannot think hee beleeved himselfe. They cannot expect, while they doe these things, that I should bee wanting to the preservation of that good cause I have undertaken, and they needs not feare but in case of agreement I shalbee able to appease all those freinds I have excited, for yow may assure yourselves I shall make noe agreement which may endanger the liberty of the people and priviledges of Parliament, and if those bee pre-

served, I know all that I write to wilbee satisfied. I have noe more at present, but onely desire yow let mee know what letters of mine yow receive, and whether they come to your hands unopned, and to give mee as speedy an accompt as yow can whether they intend and what they doe in order to the continuation of the Treaty.

I remaine

Yours,

[GEORGE MONCK].

The Castles yow speake of are both safe in our hands, and for those in considerable places that men are drawne out of I have taken security from the Country Gentlemen that are the owners that they shall restore them againe at a fortnight's warning, either to myselfe or to any other that shall command in cheife. Yow cannot but know there are many more such lyes made of us, but I suppose yow know us too well to beleeve them. For the Lord Glencarne's busines I warn'd in the Shires and Burghes, according to the tennor of the inclosed, to meete with mee to engage them to keepe the country in peace, and at that meeting I delivered a coppie of the inclosed to the Commissioners for the shires, and one to that purpose to those for the Burghes; amongst them was chosen that Earle to speake in behalfe of the Shires, and the Provost of Edinburgh for the Burghes. I had noe reason to refuse him at such a time, when hee was to give his engagement against Charles Stewart, which hee and all the rest have done, and I expect to have it next weeke from the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the whole countyes. I leave it to yow to judge whether there was anything in this prejudiciall to the service of the Commonwealth.

The Officers under Major-General Lambert to the Council of Officers in Scotland

Brethren and Fellow Souldiers,

The coppie of a letter from yow to Colonel Wilkes, Lieut.-Colonel Clobury, and Major Knight, as alsoe the coppie of a letter from Generall Monck to his Excellency the Lord Fleetwood, beeing

lii. f. 27.

comunicated to us by the Lord Lambert, and thereby perceiveing that yow have thought fitt to wave the Agrement made at London the fifteenth of this instant, upon grounds that your Commissioners have left some necessary part imperfect, and that they have in others mistaken their instructions, and therefore that yow are resolved to add two to your number, and proceede towards a firme and sure agrement in such way and manner as therein is exprest, and thereby, as we conceive, have put that affaire into such a delatory course as will answer noe expectation but that of the common enimie, wee cannot but expresse our present trouble occasioned thereby, and take the freedome as brethren to expostulate with yow, and to desire yow to consider what good these delayes can bring forth.

Are the differences betwixt yow and us in the matter contained in the late Agreement soe considerable as it needs the waste[1] of tyme in expecting a safe conduct from London for additionall commissioners, which together with the tyme necessary for debate thereof, and theire repaire thither, must spin out many dayes, dureing which the breach betwixt us must bee kept open to the publicque view of the nations about us, till the preparations of France and Spaine (which cannot bee unknowne to you) bee ready to joyne with the publicque enimy within our bowells, and will nothing satifie yow but the hazard of the lives and well beeing of your freinds and brethren in England? Did yow well understand and consider the late transactions in reference to the publicque, before yow tooke your armes in your hands, and resolved to march for England? Have yow any grounds to beleeve that they are not equally concerned with yow in the happines and prosperity of theire native country, and that the libertyes thereof as men and Christians are [not] as deare to them as their lives? As for the callumnies cast uppon them by some of yow of being enimies to magistracy, ministry, and schooles of learneing, are they any other then what hath bin cast uppon the people of [God] in all ages, and uppon us by the comon enimy even whilst you and wee like

[1] MS. 'best.'

friends often hazarded our lives together in carryeing on that worke, and wherein not onely by our publicque declarations, but alsoe by our private discourses, [we] have declared that thorough regulation and reformation in those things was the summe of our desires? Were not your commissioners acquainted with these things, and fully impowred to treate and conclude, and have they not in pursuance thereof signed an agreement in your behalfs? If these things bee soe, have wee not reason to judge our selves dealt with all in an extraordinary way, contrary to the practise of declared enimies in all nations, and much more contrary to what ought to bee amongst friends and brethren?

Yet, to the end nothing conduceing to peace may bee left unattempted on our parts, wee have desired Major Generall Lambert to acquaint Generall Monck, that if hee please to appoint two commissioners (officers of the army in Scotland) to bee added to those already at London, and signifie theire names to him, that a safe conduct shalbee forthwith given to them, and that accord[ing] to your desire the treaty may be removed to Newcastle, which in order to your satisfaction wee hope wilbee granted. And to the end wee may bee cleare and plaine with yow in your proceedings, [wee] thought fitt to acquaint yow that wee have advised his Excellency that nothing in the agreement may bee parted from, nor new matter or further explanacions admitted which are not consentaneous to what is already concluded; as alsoe to advise his Lordshipp that the Generall Council agreed uppon in the third article of the agreement at London, appointed to meete the sixth of December next, may accordingly hold theire meeting, and proceed to setle the affaires therein mentioned, to the end that if a failure bee on your parts, all [un]prejudiced men may see where the obstruction to setlement lies, soe much desired by all good people in these nations. And haveing said thus much unto yow, we shall conclude that through mercy wee hope wee shalbee found lovers of our country, lovers of the people of God, lovers of peace, and desireous to continue in a brotherly affection towards yow. And what ever

decision the Lord shall give to this controversy, wee hope wee shall blesse his name, and say the will of the Lord bee done. Soe making our earnest desire to the Throne of Grace that his [hee] will in much mercy rebuke that spiritt which for preferment or selfe advantage shall sett it selfe against peace, whether it bee found in yow or us, and comitting yow to his direction in this greate affaire, wee remaine

Your affectionate friends and humble servants,

D. Axtell.
Theo. Barnard.
John Pearson.
[Rich.] Creede.
[Hie.] Sankey.
Thomas Talbott.
Robt. Baynes.
Ja: Banning.
Tho. Walcot.
Pe. Backhowse.
Tho. Cleare.
Francis Browne.
Tho. Barnard.
Sam. Cockerell.
Sam. Budger.
Will. Mountford.
Tho. Savage.
Hen. Smith.
Clement Keene.
John Duckenfeild.
Willm. Gough.
Nicholas Andrewes.
Will. Walker.
W. Cambridge.
Geo. Robinson.
Edm. Litter.
Walt. Himleton.
Hen. Brightman.
Tho. Paul.
Jo. Warpoole.
Edw. Cobs.
Ri. Winsmore.
Rt. Carter.
P. Thorpe.
S. Pockley.
Rt. Salmon.
Ben. Woodward.
T. Spillman.
Thomas Talbott.
Will. Symmons.
Hen. Pownall.
Rich. Francke.
Will. Hooper.
Geo. Mason.
Will. Sharpe.
Rice Jones.
Ed. Scotton.
Mo. Scotton.
Cha. Cottle.
Rich. Everard.
Joseph Wallington.
Hen. Bolney.

JOHN SMITH.
JOHN CARUS.
NI. LOCKYER.
RICH. WILLIAMS.
CHR. HANDLEY.
WILL. BRODHURST.
GEO. CLARKE.
ROBT. HUNTER.
GEO. AUSSOTT.
HEN. HEDWORTH.
JOSEPH SYMPSON.
JA. WILSON.
ROGER LAURENCE.
ROGER JONES.
WILL. JONES.
W. WILKINSON.
RICH. LAUGHLIN.
WM. FULTHORP.
PLATT. POWER.
EVAN JONES.
WM. THORNETON.
GRIFF. LLOYDE.
WM. WENTWORTH.
T. CHAMBURLAINE.
GARVES [?] AYNSLOW.
HENR. READE.
HENRY DAVIS.
JOHN LEE.
THO. EVERARD.
J. LEMAN.
JOHN RIDFORD.
JAMES WILSON.
ROGER LAWRENCE.
GEO. RAMSDEN.
ANDR. RUSHWOOD.
AUGUST. RICHARDS.
JA. DOGGETT.
JA. BIRTLES.
THO. JONES.
THO. SWAN.
MA. THOROWGOOD.
RICH. SOUTHWOOD.
THO. LENDON.
JOSEPH BELBIN.
THOMAS ELLIOTT.
FRAS. PYM.
JACOB FREMMERS.
J. SWANSON.
RI. BURTON.
FRAN. CORDONES.
LAUR. EDWARDS.
THO. BOND.
WILL. WILDMAN.
TIMO. LEAING.
RICH. LIDNALL.
JAMES TOPHAM.
GEO. AUSTIN.

Newcastle,
29th November, 1659.

Postcript:

Wee perceive by a postcript in Generall Monck's letter to the Lord Fleetwood, that Colonell Cobbet is still detained a prisoner,

uppon grounds that his case hath somthing in it different from the rest. Wee have thought fitt to acquaint yow that hee was sent by order of the Lord Fleetwood and a Committee of the Generall Councill of officers as a publicque messinger, and therefore desire that hee may have the previledge of messingers, except by some miscarriage hee hath forfeited the same, and therefore wee desire that hee may bee sett at liberty, or heard before impartiall judges of the crime laide to his charge, and wee doubt not but hee will bee founde both faithfull and honnest to his country. Wee have heard some report that hee is imprisoned because hee had order to seiz General Monck, which as it is in it self frivilouse, soe it is untrue, as many of us who weere uppon the place when he received his dispatch can testifie.

Major-Gen^eral Lambert to General Monck

ii. f. 32. My Lord,

I received yours of the 24th instant by Major Cambridge, Captain Loyde, and Captain Wallington, and in answer to what they were appointed to negotiate your Lordshipp referrs mee to the result of the Generall Councill of Officers therein inclosed. Haveing perused the same, I communicated it to some officers heere, together with a coppie of yours to my Lord Fleetwood, whereby I perceive the Treaty agreed upon att London the 15th instant is not rattified; and though charity obligeth mee to hope it is uppon the grounds yow doe affirme, yet I must needs say the practise is not usuall, and the course yow propounde I conceive is soe long and delatory as will give the Common Enimy all the advantage they can expect, for seing yow take the course of desireing safe conduct, which is onely knowne among professed enimyes, I conceive yow will not judge it reasonable that a blanck passe should bee sent yow to issue such names as yow please, soe as besides time of deliberation to bee had uppon your desire, and repaire of your additionall Commissioners to London, yow must

stay two returnes from thence, and before a conclusion can reasonably bee expected the Spring will grow neere, which I hope is neither your expectation nor desire; especially when I consider how sensible yow are in a clause of yours to my Lord Fleetwood, that the three Nations are in expectation of the issue of this affaire, and till then all busines must bee at a stand except that of the Publique Enimy. The Lord knowes it, and it cannot bee hidden from yow, wee have not sought a contraversy with yow, nor did wee desire to prejudice any with yow in the least kinde; and for what concernes our proceedings uppon the publique accompt, yow may beleeve that our intentions are just and faithfull towards England as well as yours. Is it your Native Country; soe it is ours. Are yow fathers of familyes, and desire your posteritye may live like free English men; soe are wee. Doe you desire that men as Christians may enjoy their libertyes; soe doe wee. And if this bee all, where is the difference, except yow desire our harme into the bargaine, which, if that would either doe yow or our Native Country any good, it may bee wee shall not sett too greate a rate uppon that. For what concernes my Lord Fleetwood's order for removeall of these Forces back, I judge it grounded uppon a supposition that a Treaty was agreed uppon, which I see is suspended; but I shall speedily send to know his further pleasure therein. In the meane tyme I shall not doe any thing in a hostile manner to any of the Forces belonging to Scotland, provided yow engage the same to mee for those heere, but shall not hold my selfe obliged to continue in the quarters wee now remayne in. I know not uppon what reasons your Commissioners reported to yow my march for Newcastle, but if I have done any thing contrary to what yow proposed and Collonel Lilburne assented to, I shall acknowledge my fault and willingly beare my blame. Onely give mee leave to say this: that Captain Deane did assure mee that some Companyes of Collonel Pearson's Regiment marcht (hee being amongst them) to Dunbarr a few dayes after your Commissioners left Edinburgh; and since I have

it confirmed by divers officers come forth of Scotland, besides the ordnance of divers other forces which I neede not mention. It's true I am my selfe come to Newcastle, and my intencions were the same when I spoke with your Commissioners, and soe much I acquainted them with. What you affirme concerneing the stopping of any pacquett from your Commissioners to your selfe, or from yow to them, I dare assure yow uppon my word I never stopt any, directly or indirectly, and have examined amongst the officers under my command if any of them caused any stay thereof, and am assured to the contrary; soe that I hope yow will doe us that right not to affirme that want of the pacquettes' freedome did obstruct the cleareing of our misunderstanding. I very well like your caution against surmises of that kinde, and shall close with what yow propose, and shall expect the like from yow. For my stay at Newcastle, I confess I know not why that should bee objected against mee, and I hope yow will not take it ill if I dispose my selfe to such places as I judge my duty requires mee to.

For what concernes your officers stopt at Newcastle by my order, I assure yow none were detayned by mee nor any else, but Lieut. Kelly, and I hope hee will have the ingenuity to acquaint yow with the grounds thereof. And if yow suppose Capt. Sutton was stayed contrary to his owne minde, yow will finde that likewise a mistake. I shall assure yow that to the best of my understanding I have not carried things in a way of concreating the breach betwixt the armyes, further then by endeavoureing by a just defence (which God and nature allowes) to ballance those preparations of warr which seemed to threaten us with ruyne, and, as I thought, without just provocation from us, and to defend those faithfull cittizens which in the three last warrs have stood in the gapp betwixt this Nation's peace and Charles Stewart's party (some of whome, I feare, have of late received too hard measure from yow), and which I judge is my duty still to doe, according to my talent, against every weapon formed against them; and though I think noe man ought to boaste himselfe when he girdeth on his

harnesse, as when hee layeth it aside, yet I hope wee shall in this matter with chearefullnes attend what Providence shall decree therein. I have heere by command from my Superiors sent yow a coppie of a letter which was signed and directed (as by the inclosed yow will perceive), and delivered to the Lord Mayor and Common Councill of the Citty of London as from yow, which, beareing date after the tyme the Treaty was begun at London, is disowned by your Commissioners as haveing noe knowledge thereof, and supposed by them to bee a forgery. I am likewise commanded to desire yow to declare whether it was by your appointment or not. I thought fitt to signifie soe much to yow, and shall waite for your answer thereunto, and in all things to my power shall endeavour to approve my selfe,

My Lord,

Your affectionate Friend and very humble servant,

LAMBERT.

New Castle,
29th November, 1659.

Postcript.

The Councill of Officers have desired mee to give a safe conduct (if it shalbee desired by yow) for two persons to bee added to your Commissioners at London, which uppon notice accordingly wilbee done, not doubting but you'll appoint such persons as are of healeing spiritts, impartiall, and unbyassed either by personall prejudice or advantage, wherein wee shall endeavoure on our part to meete you with the like equall minds.

General Monck to Dr. John Owen

Deare Freind, xxxii. f. 142b.

You will receive by those honourable and reverend Gentlemen who were appointed by the Churches to speake with mee a letter directed to your self, Mr. Greenhill, and Mr. Hooke, which I intreate you to see communicated to the Churches in and about

London. I have therein, and in other printed papers, faithfully stated the reall and sinceare intentions of the army heere with mee; and if you have any credit for mee, I beseech yow to beleeve that wee have declared to the world the very resolutions and thoughts of our hearts. I thanke you for your very free and kinde letter of the 19th of this instant. I doe confesse I have received therein very much satisfaction as to the greate cause of my owne feares—I meane the fanaticall and selfe seeking party, which doe threaten much danger to these three Nations, for the prevention of whose dominion I dare assert it in the presence of God I have hazarded all that is deare to mee. And let mee friendly tell yow that itt's not imadginable the highth theire spiritts weere arrived, from what incurragements I know not; but I doe assure you that one of them, beeing accused before a Court Martiall for maintaineing that our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ (I tremble to write it) was a basterd, and this wicked and ath[eistical] expression proved by very sufficient witnes, yet was carried off by his owne party, with many other insolencyes not to bee remembered in this paper. Now, haveing such knowledge of your worth and piety, I earnestly begg of you to bee an instrument with my Lord Fleetwood to bee carefull of the safety of sober and judicious Christians, which can noe otherwaise bee obtained then by bringing the army to obedience to the civill authority. I know the goodnes and credulousnesse of his spiritt is such, that he hath too greate latitude of charity for such as designe his ruine; and, I must speake it boldly, hee hath not a faithfuller friend in the three Nations then my selfe, nor one that shall more truly serve him; but in such darke wayes I cannot follow him. Hee knowes with what zeale and importunity I urged my dismission from the deceased Protector, and very lately from this Parliament; but now, being at the heade of a part of the army, I dare not sitt still and let our lawes and liberties goe to ruine. I take God to witnes I have noe pleasure in these differences, but I cannot yet say that wee have received any assurance of Parliamentary authority by the

late pretended agreement, but shalbee willing to have further treaty for satisfaccion. I am ingaged in conscience and honnour to see my Country freed (as much as in mee lies) from that intollerable slavery of a sword Goverment, and I know England cannot, nay, will not indure it; and if this army heere had concurred with them in England, wee had bin all exposed to the fury of the three Nations, which they would some time or other have executed. I see nothing will content some men but the inslaveing of all our consciences to theire pleasure. I had thought soe many changes would have taught us to rest some wheare; but I shall leave it to yow, whome I know to bee of sober principles and of a publicque spiritt, to represent these things to our freinds in England. As to the Cavaliers' interest, I think I may modestly averre it hath not a greater enimy in the three Nations then my selfe, soe that I shall not trouble my selfe to confute those slanders that fanaticall spiritts would asperse mee withall. I doe assure yow in the presence of God that I shall oppose it to the last dropp of my bloud; but I must plainely tell yow that theire hopes are nurished by our unsettlement. Nothing can gratifie them more then the interruption of this Parliament. Could wee once come to a fixt point in a Commonwealth way, wee shall soone engage the body and bulke of the Nation against them. I am sensible of the same feares with your selfe, that the engageing of the armies in bloud will make a grave to bury our whole cause and interest; but the Lord bee judge who hath necessitated us to this hazard. I should bee as willing to bee serviceable to the interest of good men in these nations as any other, but I cannot act against my conscience and commission; neither can I see any legall foundation for a free state, unles this Parliament sitts downe againe, or some other legally called; neither is that necessity of runing into bloud for the attaineing it soe visible unto me, when most of our friends who were demitted theire commands may bee restored by our interposalls. I should bee very willing to relinquish all publique imployment as soone as I shall see a good security to our lawes

and libertyes, spirituall and civill; and none shalbee more ready to imbrace peace upon those termes; but otherwise I must sadly assure yow that I cannot but appeare for my poore country, and must referr my selfe to the righteous God, with this resolution, 'If I perish, I perish.' Now, haveing dealt thus plainely with yow, I must reassume my former desire, knowing that interest yow have in the Lord Fleetwood, that yow would let him know what God, the saints, and the world expects at his hands: that hee should restore the Parliament to sitt with safety and freedome, and incurrage men of sober principles in the army; for I must bee free with you, that his enimies doe already publish that hee laid aside his Brother for other then publique ends. I have experienc't abundance of love and respect from him, and should bee very sorry that soe good a man should bee abused to serve the passion and lust of others. I have noe further but to begg your prayers, and remaine

Your affectionate friend and servant,

G. M.

Edinburgh, 29 November,
1659.

For my Reverend freind
Doctor John Owen,
Deane of Christ Church,
at Westminster,
these.

Capt. Thos. Southwell to Lieut. John Paddon [1]

Durham, 30th November, 1659.

Dear Sir,

Haveing formerly been made partaker of sevirall kindnesses at all times when I have had occassion to make use of you as my freind, I hould my selfe much obliged to you for the same, and shall bee very gladd if I may bee soe happy as to give you thanks

[1] This letter is from a MS. in the Phillips Collection (No. 1013), which was sold in 1898, and is now in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

in my owne person upon your returne for England. Your freinds will bee very gladd to see you, and to make you wellcom at your returne, and the sooner you arrive at them the greater will theyr joy bee; but it's doubted by all of them you will bee nessesitated to remaine where you are untill the present unhappy difference betwixt the Lord Fleetwood and the English Army and Generall Monke bee brought to a period, which indeed is very ardently desired; and the late refusall of Generall Monke to ratifie the agreement concluded at London doth give some ground of jelousy to most of the army's friends that a peace is not really intended, but rathir some designe to imbroyle the nations in warr upon an unwarrantable account. When you have a way open for coming to England, pray make this towne in your way, and stay a while heer to refrish you; and pray lett us have a line or two if you cannot yet come. It's the great greife of your friends to understand that you have ingaged to joine with Generall Monke against the forces under the Lord Lambert, and Ile assure you very many that wish you well are very confident that Generall Monke's designe will not prosper, and thirefor doe hartyly wish you were absent from thence at this time. Noe moore, save to lett you know that the Lord Lambert is at Newcastle, and hee hath a greate force with him as is reported—above 3,000 horse and 5,000 foote; and wee hearr severall of the army in Scotland are run away unto him. At the George in Durham you will heare where I sojourne. Pray excuse my hasty scrible; I am unwilling whyle the times are soe troublesome to write soe particularly about things as I would. Pray lett me heare from you if I cannot see you; only, when ever you come you shall bee hartily wellcome to mee, and soe you will to all your friends, and the sooner the better; but pray doe not adventure to come alone without company now the roads are so troublesome as wee heare they are. In hast, with my kind love to you remembered. I subscribe as I am, sir, your very loveing freind and servant,

T. S.

Pray, sir, if the armys should advance to fight you doe not omitt all honest endevors to obtaine peace, and that noe bloud may bee spilt, especially because you are both one and the same army.

[Endorsed] For his hono^rd good
Freind Lieut: Paddon,
at his quarters
in Kelsy,
in Scotland.

Major Cambridge to Lieut. Mouns [1]

Leift.,

I doe hereby desier you to send my man Som[ervi]ll to Newcastle to mee with what speed you can. If it be with you as I have hard, you may think strang that I should send to you, but I wold not have you to stand in your owne light, and run upon your owne rewing, which you will unavoydable do in apeareing against the people of God, who for my part I never knew more unanimus since the war began then now; lett men say what they will, you will find it. I shall not in the lest goe about to perswaid you from your resolutions, but desier you to be carefull that with your owne rewing you doe not betray the lifes of those you have had under mee the charge of, and bring the gilt of there blod upon your owne head, as you have there, makeing shipwracke of there concernes in forsing them to signe to that thay understood not; in which you have indulged non but those we have had the contest with for this seventene years. Be not shoked with a paper commission; but consider things, and you may perceive whether there is any thing of realety in what hath bin pretended, all things being answered that was demanded, and satisfaction given to the Commisioners att London; and an agrement by them con-

[1] Cambridge was major of Twisleton's regiment of horse, and Mouns (who is also described as Mynn, Mims, or Munns) was lieutenant of his troop. This letter also is from the Phillips MSS.

sented unto, and signed by them, but deneyed by those that hath insnared you, with a pretenc thay have exceded there instrucktions, shuch a thing as yet I never knew by aney of the Cavelers. I shall say no more to you of that, knowing if you will see you may see so much; as those offecers hath seene that hath left you in Scotlan, which are betwine eaighty and a hundred;[1] the consideration wharof I shud think, if nothing els, might make you stager. But I need say no more to you, knowing your concienc can not but fly in your face. Your brother, Capt. Suthwell, desiered mee to send you this inclosed. I pray you send me my man, and if you plese you may take care to send me my money to or returne it to Newcastle, for I understand you have much moneys of the regements in your hands. But I shall trouble you no more about that, or aney thing els, more then to desier you to be carefull of your undertaking, and rest him who before you ingaged against the people of God could writ himself your reall frind; but now, as commonly said, I am your servient,

O. CAMBRIDGE.

Nov. the last, 1659.

I would a writ somthing to my troop, but knowing you would keipt it from them I have forborne; only lett my man have this.

[On the back] For Leift. Thos. Mouns att his Quarters att Jadard, in Scotland, this hast.

A Letter from a Trooper at Newcastle[2]

Loueing frend

and felow soulder, my kind loue to you, desireing that you was with mee for the loue I beare to you. This is to let you know that I am at Newcastell, and that Capten Wright is there, and hath the

[1] In *Mercurius Politicus* for November 24-December 1, 1659, there is a long list of 'the officers that have either deserted General Monck, or that upon his declaring, being in England, have refused to return to their charges' (p. 922).

[2] Phillips MSS. in the Advocates' Library.

comand of all thoes men that beloung to youre troup, and youre brother Samull is with them. I think wee shall be as manie as may serve to c[h]arge your troup, if it com to that, as I belive it will before mani dayes, or elles ye must submit. My frend, let not thoes mani lyes that ar dely tould you caues you to twurne youre backe upon your freinds, but consider whiles it is time, and leiv thoes that dow but stand for ther owne houes and selfe intrist, which I hop will spidely fall. You may, if you ples, let Francke Hubert know that wee that are of the troup are under the comand of his ould frend Capten James Whright, for Capt. Prittie [1] is at home. I supoes that Capt. Whright will haue the troup, and then wat will be com of thoes paper men. I have not much more, but that the armay is expecting a moshon sudenly. And in loue to you I rite the truth of things. Soe haueing no more, being in great hast, I rest youre frend, if you be youre owne.

G. E.

from Newcastell
the 1 of December,
59.

[On the back] for my euer loueing frend
John Was, at Celsseay in
Capt. John Padan his trup,
thes with
trust.

Lieut.-Col. Witter to General Monck [2]

May itt please your Lordshipp,

I received your Lordshipp's of November the 29th, with the inclosed order to examine wittnesses relateing to Lt. Mould. It will appeare by the inclosed that he had a greate hand with

[1] Oliver Pretty and James Wright both appear in the list of captains in the regiment of Col. Saunders, appointed by Parliament in July 1659 (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1659–60, p. 396). Paddon was lieutenant of Wright's troop in that list, but Monck made him captain of a troop in his own regiment (December 27).

[2] Phillips MSS. in the Advocates' Library.

Williams in draweing away the souldiers from theire duty at Dunbar.[1] I humbly conceive that his standing upon his justification doth agravate his guilt in the business, and that hee is of a base deceitfull spirritt. I shall bee carefull to observe any comands I shall receive from Major Generall Morgan, according to your Lordshipp's order to me, and I doe humbly assure your Lordshipp, that wee are all, both officers and souldiers, unanimously clothed with the greatest resolutions to force thorow all oppositions that may be mett with in carryeing on our good cause. I humbly crave leave to present my service to your Lordshipp's most vertuous Lady, for I will dureing my life bee,

My Lord,
Your Lordshipp's verry faithfull and
obedient servant,
JOSEPH WITTER.

Dunbarr,
Decembr. the 1st, 1659.

Depositions against Lieutenant Mould [2]

I John Ecleston, Quarter Mr., doe hereby certify that I examined Lt. Mould's man whether his Mr. had a hand in carryeinge away the soulders in the Mutiny at Dunbarr, and hee told mee that his Mr., meeting with Corpll. George Lester nere to Dunbarr, asked the said Corpll. what Companies were in Dunbarr, who told him that there was onely two Companyes, late Collo. Pearson's and Lt. Collo. Keene's; then said Lt. Mould to

[1] Joseph Witter was promoted by Monck from captain to be lieutenant-colonel of the regiment which Parliament had given to Col. John Pearson (late Daniel's regiment). He secured the citadel at Perth for Monck when the latter declared against the army in England, and made Lieut.-Col. Keane and Major Kelke prisoners (Baker, pp. 686–7). Captain Richard Williams was discharged, but returned from England, and endeavoured to induce two companies of the regiment quartered at Dunbar to desert, but his plan was detected (*ibid.* p. 691). Mark Mould had been his lieutenant.

[2] Phillips MSS. in the Advocates' Library.

Capt. Williams, that it would bee fine service to carry the two Companies away to Newcastle, for they had freinds in the said companies. And further sayeth not.

JOHN ECLESTON.

I Richard Birchall, Lt. to Capt. Robt. Heath, doe hereby certify that at the returne of the said Capt. from Edinbrugh last he acquainted mee that hee had bine seeing Lt. Mould in prison, and the said Capt., asking Lt. Mould whether he was anyway assisting Capt. Williams in his late busines at Dunbar, he answered that hee had, and further said that if hee could have destroyed the Armie here he would have done it.

RICHARD BIRCHALL.

The above said hath been
acknowledged before mee
at Dunbarr the 1st day
of December, 1659.
JOSEPH WITTER.

Colonel Robson to General Monck [1]

Right Honorable,

I receiued yours per Ensigne Moore, and have accordinge to your Lordship's order putt these six Companies and garrison into such a secure and settled posture as I doubt not, but per the assistance of God, wee shalbe able to give your Lordship a good accompt of that trust reposed in us, beinge resolued to keepe it for the interrest of the Parliament.[2] I was forced to dismiss 24

[1] Phillips MSS. in the Advocates' Library.

[2] Yaxley Robson was a captain in Col. Sawrey's regiment of foot, which was quartered at Ayr. When Monck declared for the Parliament against the Army he commissioned Robson to secure the citadel at Ayr. Robson set deliberately to work, and carried out his orders without any recourse to force. 'He dealt so with the officers that most of them, except the colonel and lieutenant-colonel, agreed to comply with the General.' Lieut.-Col. Holmes 'privately got away to Carlisle, and secured that garrison for the army in England.' (This was the Holmes who

priuate souldiers and six corporalls who shewed their unwillingness to act in this good and honest cause, twenty three of which did belonge to my Colonell's and Capt. Spencer's Companies, maney of them beinge of most violent, turbulent, and dangerous spirritt, and could not with safity be continued; they weare all of Capt. Spencer's people, of that church. I have presumed to give them there discharges, and what monies could possible spare them; they are goane for Carlyle, where at present Colonell Sawrey is. Those comission officers which your Lordship wrott to are also resolued not to act; I have therefoir dismissed them from there seauerall imployments, and what they intende to doe as yet I knowe not, but their carriages are excedinge high, and make it here there only buissness to discourrage and discountinance the priuate souldiers. My Colonell's family, with the rest of the desentinge officers, are at present in the Cittadell. I desire to knowe your Lordship's pleasure concerninge them. We are in greate want of monies, to carry on our Locality, for coales and candle, all the six Companies beinge draune into the Cittadell. I have noe more at present, but shall desire the Lord to direct, councill, and assist your Lordship in all your undertakings which may tende to the settlement of these poore distracted nations, and the good and liberty of the people of God therein. I shall euer remaine

Your Lordship's verey humble seruant,

YAXLEY ROBSON.

Cittadell at Ayre this
1st Decemb., 1659.

fought under Monmouth at Sedgmoor.) Col. Sawrey temporised for a time, but finally he also fled into England. Peter Crispe, the major, seems also to have left. An earlier letter from Robson is printed in the Report on the MSS. of Mr. Leyborne-Popham (p. 127), and there is one from Daniel Jackson, the regimental chaplain, to Speaker Lenthall, in Grey's *Examination of Neal's Puritans*, iv. appendix, p. 135. Monck finally made Robson colonel of the regiment.

Lieut.-General Fleetwood to General Monck

liii. f. 88b.

My Lord,

I have received yours of the 24th of November, wherin you are pleased to expresse your satisfaction in that compliance that is heere in order to an healing of this breach which hath bin amongst us. I hope wee are not without a sence of that sore rebuke which wee have mett with in this late difference. Greate will bee our mercy if the Lord please to give a perfect healeing unto the wound, which through our misunderstandings hath not onely bin greviouse to ourselves, but probably would have bin very destructive to the interest wee have been contending for, and therefore it cannot but bee a trouble to mee to think there should bee any doubt of a composure of our late differences. For I must lett your Lordshipp know that wee were not without our difficultyes to dispose any Generall Councell heere to a complyance with what was agreed uppon betwixt us and your commissioners, and it being at the Generall Councell demanded whether they had a power to conclude what was agreed uppon, an assurance was given us by them that they had a full authority thereunto, and as the expression was, that they should make good the agreement, or render theire persons unto the Councill. This was soe often objected as to theire power, and soe often affirmed to bee in them, that indeede, if yow should not make good this agreement, it will be a more dishonorable action then any thing your Lordshipp wilbee guilty of. I doubt not but there are those who will laboure to influence those affaires so as to make a breach betwixt us, and who will have the advantage of it but our common enimy? I know there is nothing in the agreement but is of equall, nay, of much more advantage to yow then to us, as our differences have been stated; but our designe was to consider of our case, as wee are both engaged in one common cause, that soe our common enimy might not make prey of us both, and therefore, my Lord, I must retaine that confidence in yow as a person of honoure that

will not suffer faith to bee broken with enimyes, much lesse with friends. Therefore I must desire your Lordship to hasten away your officers according to the agreement of the Generall Councill, as alsoe to make good those other parts of the agreement, and in perticular that yow will please to sett Collonel Cobbett at liberty, whose case is different from all others, hee beeing a messinger sent from hence, and therefore ought to have had his liberty. If hee hath exceeded his instructions, I hope yow will looke upon us [as] the most proper judges thereof.

My Lord, I beseech yow consider the condition of these poore nations, how much theire destractions will encrease uppon the unresolvednes betwixt us, and as yow love the good thereof, let not any thing divert yow from makeing good that wee were assured should bee performed to us. As for anything which may bee a dissatisfaction uppon other accompts, I shall not doubt but wee shall give or receive a full and cleare satisfaction therein, my Lord Lambert having full power in all things tending to the perfecting of what may make upp our breach. I shall not give yow the further trouble then to bee assured there is none more desireous of a through understanding betwixt your Lordshipp and our friends then I doe, who shalbee ready uppon all occasions to expresse my selfe

Your affectionate humble servant,

CHARLES FLEETWOOD.

Wallingford Howse,
1st December, 1659.

The Commissioners of the Army of Scotland to General Monck

May itt please your Lordshippe, ii. f. 81b.

Wee have received your Lordshippe's from the Generall Councill of your Officers, and in order to what your Lordshippe has propos'd touching renewing the Treatie att Newcastle, wee have our dispatch from the Lord Fleetwood to goe thither, and begin our journey to morrow, and hope to bee there by the 7th

instant, where wee shall bee very glad to meete with two more to joyne with us by your Lordshippe's appointment. Att our arrivall there your Lordshippe shall receive a farther accompt of all the particulars mencioned in your letter. And having noe more att present to trouble you with, wee remayne

Your Lordshippe's most humble and faithfull servants,

TIMO: WILKES.
JOHN CLOBERY.
R. KNIGHT.

Charing Crosse,
1 Dec., 1659.

Postscript:

My Lord,

I would very gladly have bin with your Lordshippe before now, butt I cannott yett procure a passe, though I have many times desir'd itt. When I come to Newcastle, I hope to procure itt from my Lord Lambert.

General Monck to Major-General Lambert

liii. f. 82. My Lord,

Having notice from our Commissioners that they will bee att Newcastle on the 7th of this instant in order to an Additionall Treaty, the officers heere have desir'd mee to write to your Lordshippe that they may have a passe from you to come to Berwick to give an account of their businesse to them, which is all att present from

Your Lordshippe's very humble servant,
GEORGE MONCK.

Berwick,
6 December, 1659.

Newsletters

xxxii. f. 152b. *December* 6, 59.—Friday last the Committee of Safety ordered the Proclamation against signing of peticions to be proclaymed by the Lord Mayor, who pretending indisposicion of body, Sergeant Dendy yesterday morning, with the assistance of a troope of horse,

published the same att the old Exchange,[1] where many apprentices and other discontented persons threw tiles off from the houses and great pieces of ice from the gutters uppon the said troopers, who march't out of the Citty (being sometimes necessitated to face about) without offending any of the said tumult. About 9 of the clock that morning the cittizens had shut upp all theire shopps, which occasioned more forces to march in and secure the peace thereof, wherein 2 or 3 of the Citty were slaine, and a Lieutenant and 4 private souldjers wounded. The Committee of Safety ordered the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen to attend them this day at White Hall about 10 of the clock. About ij that night the Lord Mayor sent a message to the Lord Fleetwood, wherein hee desires that the forces of the army might march out, and that hee would undertake to preserve the peace of the Citty; which being denyed, the care thereof was recommended to Generall Disbrowe and Col. Hewson, who might march in with 2 regiments. This day the apprentices' peticion and the answer thereunto were published.

A letter likewise came this day from Portsmouth, which saith that 10 disguised persons came in there Saturday night last, and committed severall officers of that garrison, which hath declared for the Restoration of the last Parliament; some of those persons are said to bee Sir Arthur Heslerigg, Col. Morley, Col. Walton and Coll. [blank.] Severall forces are ordered to lye downe before the said place of Portsmouth. The Lord Richard Cromwell is come to Hampton Court. Col. Hacker hath his liberty uppon his paroll. Quarter Master Generall Courtney and Adjutant Generall Allen are goeing Commissioners to the fleete. The Lord Mayer came not this day to attend the Committee of Safety according to order, but about 4 Aldermen. The Modell of Goverment is very much hastned.

[1] Printed in the *Public Intelligencer*, Nov. 28–Dec. 5, 1659, p. 919, and dated Dec. 1. Cf. Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, ii. 358.

Letter to Mr. William Clarke

xxxii. f. 159. *London, December* 6, 1659.—Yesterday the prentices delivered a petition to the Lord Mayor, &c., for the priviledges of Parliament and preservation of Magistracy and Ministry. And the Committee of Safety ordered Col. Hewson and all the forces they could make to goe into London and suppresse it, which caused the cittizens to feare they came to plunder them, soe all shopps were shutt and differences grew betweene the prentices and souldjers. At last the souldjers fell in uppon severall naked boyes, and killed 3 or 4, and cutt and slashed 20 or 30, which hath caused a greate heart burneing in the Citty. Yesterday came certaine newse that Col. Whetham hath delivered upp the Goverment of Portsmouth to Sir Arthur Heslerigg, Col. Morley, and Col. Walton, who have declared for the Parliament, and the navye there hath done the like. They intend to make orders about the army, and Col. Morleye's interest in those parts is very considerable. This busines puts them into a greate stand, and they know not what to doe. Wee are glad to heare you are soe unanimouse in Scotland. The Councill of State have satt privately till the expiration of theire commission, and now are gone to theire severall homes. They have sent severall letters to Generall Monck to incurrage him, and those noble officers and souldjers with him, and are resolved that those officers and souldjers as shall faithfully adhere to Generall Monck in this righteouse cause shall not onely have theire arreares paid soe soone as they have restored the Parliament, but shall have medalls given them as a marke of the Parliament's favoure towards them for their faithfullnes, &c. The souldjers heere are soe vilified, scorn'd, and hist, that they are asham'd to march; and many officers when they goe into the Citty dare not weare their swords for feare of affronts; and thus God hath blasted them, and they are become vile in the eyes of the people. And many souldjers wish themselves with my Lord Generall Monck, for they say they will bee sure to bee paid and have theire arreares; but now they fight for they

doe not know what nor who, and are esteemed rogues and traters. You cannot beleeve the confusion that is amongst us. Some say they have noe way to save them selves but to call a Parliament and proclaime R[ichard] againe. The Lady Dowager sent one of her Gentlemen to my Lord Fleetwood yesterday before hee was upp, and tould him hee came from her Highnesse, who wish't him to call to minde the saying of her Husband to him before his death, that hee would never leave his whimsies till hee had put the Nation in bloud, and wish't him seriously to consider of it, and call it to mind, and how neere hee was in effecting it, and bid him consider what wrong hee had done to her sonne R[ichard], whether as affaires stoode they had any better way to preserve themselves and the Nation then to restore him. Hee lay in bed all the tyme like a stock, and answered not a word.

Remember my humble service to my Lord Generall. Had I as many lives as haires of my heade, I should venter them all with him and for him in this righteouse cause, which God, I am confident, will owne and prosper in his hands. If you can but keepe Scotland your worke will bee done to your hands, for your cause getts ground daily; but take heede of too soone engagements to hazard all. And if his Lordshipp wants assistance, noe prince but will make use of private souldjers of any Nation, and they may doe well mixt; but for that his Lordshipp is wiser then wee heere to know the conveniency or inconveniency of such things. Col. Markham and Col. Atkins are still in prison for delivering a lettre from G. M. to the Lord Mayer. I have noe more, beeing willing to the utmost to improve my selfe for you and this cause. Not a penny will bee paid after this month, nor will the people pay a penny tax without consent of Parliament.

Newsletter

London, December 6, 1659.—Yesterday wee had a sad day by reason of some bloudshed among us by the souldiers. A petition was on foote by the apprentices to bee deliver'd to the Common xxxii. f. 162.

Councill, which coming to the knowledge of the Committee of Safety, they made a Proclamation against itt, which was proclaymed yesterday morning in Cheapside by some troopers, who were beate back by the apprentices, which occasioned the bringing in of (I thinke) all the horse and foote of the army into the Citty, who came with their swords drawne and pistolls cock't against a multitude of naked men, and killed 6 or 7, and wounded more; butt that would nott quiett them, till about 5 a clock the Lord Mayor made Proclamation that they should all depart, the souldiers being withdrawne, some of them being kill'd and wounded.[1] The peticion was delivered into the Court of Common Councill by 5 younge men, who referr'd itt to a Committee to give them answer, and those 6 Aldermen and 12 Commoners to consider of the safetie of the Citty in this juncture of time. Their names are Aldermen Foote, Fooke, Milner, Thompson, Robinson, Bateman, Mr. Biddolph, Storie, Chamberlin, Wyn, Antrobus, Barebone, Benbow, Bateman, Jolly, Edwards, Cox, Staynes. Yesterday came newes that for certaine Portesmouth hath declared for a Parliament, and this night I heare that Bristol hath done the like, and that they are uppe in Devonshire. This day my Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen were sent for to come to the Committee of Safetie; butt my Lord thought nott good to leave this Citty att the time of danger, butt sent 6 Aldermen to them, who spake plaine English to them, &c.

Lieut-General Fleetwood to General Monck

lii. f. 36b. My Lord,

I haveing received an accompt by Captain Loyd of your Lordshipp's readines to comply with the Agreement of your Commissioners heere, I shall hope through the goodnes of the Lord that this busines of difference which have bin betweene us wilbee

[1] There is a good account of the riot in some letters written by Samuel Pepys. See an article on 'The Early Life of Pepys' in *Macmillan's Magazine* for November 1893.

soe perfected to our mutuall satisfaction that wee shall both of us have noe other occasion then to returne to that former kindenesse and love which have bin betweene us, wherein bee confident I shall not bee wanting in any thing on my part to manifest my readinesse to expresse that honnoure and service which I have for yow. My Lord, these differences are like to ingage these poore Nations in greate confusions, and therefore certainely the dutye lyes uppon us to settle all differences betweene us. Wee have had some trouble yesterday in London. I shall give you an honnest and faithfull accompt thereof, as alsoe in the businesse of Portsmouth. Yesterday morneing there was a greate tumult raised by the apprentises uppon the pretence, not of the Long Parliament, but from the Parliament in the late Protector's time, or else a Free Parliament as they call it, mannaged wholly by the Cavaleere Malignant party and those ingaged in Sir George Boothe's insurrection. Theire cry was not for a Commonwealth, but to bee revenged, as theire owne expressions were, for the death of theire King. Through the goodnesse of the Lord this tumult was wholly suppressed; two or three of them killed and some few wounded; our souldjers received with much patience very greate provocations, because they would not shed bloud; otherwise they might have soone quenched that flame. This is nakedly the truth of that busines. I know yow will have variouse representations concerneing itt, but bee confident this is the truith thereof. That of Portsmouth is in short thus.[1] Colonell Whetham did the last weeke

[1] After the fall of Richard Cromwell, Col. Nathaniel Whetham was appointed Governor of Portsmouth (May 12), a man who had great influence there, having been also governor during the Commonwealth (Ludlow's *Memoirs*, i. 394, ii. 80). Sir Arthur Haselrig, Col. Walton, and Col. Morley, three of the commissioners in whom Parliament, on October 11, 1659, had vested the government of the army, encouraged by the failure of the treaty between Monck and the English army, entered into correspondence with Whetham, who agreed to receive them and to declare for the restoration of the Long Parliament. On Sunday, December 3, Haselrig and his two colleagues came to Portsmouth, were welcomed by Whetham, seized some dissatisfied officers, and made their declaration (see *A Letter from Sir Arthur Haselrig in Portsmouth to an Honourable Member of the late Parlia-*

send unto mee by a letter from Captain Browne to assure mee that hee would observe noe orders but from my selfe, and that hee would doe nothing in opposition to the army, and his expression was, 'though your selfe with the army should come to the gates of the Towne, hee would not lett yow in;' yet, contrary to these Engagements, and the confidence that I putt in him, hee hath deceived his trust, which I hope you will hardly beleeve; neither could I of Collonell Whetham of almost all the men of the army, but uppon Saturday night last hee lett in Sir Arthur Heslerigg and Colonell Morley in opposition to us; though Sir Arthur did alsoe give assurance that hee would not stirre, but live quietly, to the same purpose did Colonell Morley. Such breaches of promise I could not have expected from any man of honoure or honesty, much lesse from such. The Lord, I desire, may convince them of theire sinn, and will, I trust, make it appeare that they have dealt very deceitefully. Wee have already a party before them to block them upp, and are sending more forces after them, soe that at the least I doubt not, through the blessing of the Lord, wee shalbee able to keepe them from doeing any mischiefe otherwise then the reputation of that place to bee against us; onely I feare this will give a fresh incurragement to our Common Enimy, and therefore, my Lord, I beseeche yow lett there bee no longer delayes, but an

ment, 1659, 4to). The three sent letters to the Lord Mayor and the Commissioners of the London Militia demanding their support, and entered into an acrimonious correspondence with Fleetwood (*The True Copys of several Letters from Portsmouth directed by Sir Arthur Haselrig, etc., to the Lord Fleetwood*, 1659, 4to; cf. Thurloe, vii. 795). Robert Wallop, Nicholas Love, and other influential gentlemen joined them, though Col. Richard Norton refused to do so. Troops were sent down to besiege them; but on December 20 five companies of foot and five troops of horse (the latter belonging to Col. Rich's regiment) went over to the besieged, and the rest of the besieging force submitted (*Public Intelligencer* December 19–26). Haselrig and his friends then marched to London with a force consisting of about fifteen troops of horse and a regiment of foot. He arrived in London, and took his seat in Parliament on December 29 (*Report on the MSS. of the Duke of Portland*, i. 689; *Commons' Journals*, vii. 799; Whitelocke's *Memorials*, iv. 377–8, 380, 385; Ludlow, ii. 157, 160, 170, 183, 204; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 629; Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, ii. 301, 303, 309, 317, 320, 331).

union with mutuall confidence being soe necessary to prevent further disturbances, doe not deferr to give that satisfaction to your friends which may make us both to receive the goodnesse of the Lord in preventing these unhappy differences, which that wee may have is the desire of

Your affectionate and humble servant,

CHARLES FLEETWOOD.

Wallingford
Howse, Decembr. 6th, 1659.

News from Berwick

December 7, 1659.—This day the Lord Generall Monck and Councill of Officers att Berwick resolved uppon the answer to the lettre from the officers att Newcastle brought by Col. Sanchey, who was to bee dispatched the next day with the same. xxxii. f. 150.

Hee communicated his Instructions from the Lord Lambert to the Councill of Officers: against Delayes; the meeting of the Scotch Gentry, which they look't uppon as dangerous to the Nation; and that they were for Magistrates and Ministers, &c.

General Monck to Major-General Lambert

My Lord, liii. f. 35.

At the time when I received intelligence that Sir Hierome Sanchy was comeing towards us with a message from your Lordship, I was upon a resolucion to march imediatly to Berwick, and therefore sent to intreat him to stay there till I came, that being a place of more commodious recepcion for him, and more convenient for mee to give an answere to any thing hee should have in comands from your Lordship then any other upon the road. At my arrivall here I have received two letters from him, one from the officers with your Lordship att Newcastle to the Generall Councell of officers here, and another from your Lordship to my selfe. To the former the Generall Councell of Officers here have

herewithall sent their answere, and to the latter your Lordship may please to accept of this as a returne. I doe againe assure your Lordship that wee neither had nor have here any other intention, in desireing a continuacion of the Treaty, then onely that there might be a full and perfect agreement. And I should have taken it as a great argument of your Lordship's inclinacion thereto if yow had been pleased to beleive that profession of ours, as well out of the former confidence you have had of the respects wee have beene to your Lordship, and of the intire affection wee have for our Brethren, as out of charity onely, which is a thing (wee hope) soe extensive in your Lordship as that you affoard it to those whom you looke upon with another eye then wee thinke you doe upon us.[1] And I intreate your Lordship to consider that where Agreements are made after such a manner it's not unusuall to demurre upon the ratificacion. Your Lordship hath been pleased to take notice out of my letter to the Lord Fleetwood (whose pacquetts it seemes your Lordship uses to open) how sensible wee are here of the advantages the Common Enemy is like to gaine by the lengthening of our differences, and I hope your Lordship will be pleased not to be a meanes of drawing them out yett further by standing upon such punctillioes as refuseing us a blanck passe for soe many persons as wee shall have occasion to send to treat with yow (which can be noe wayes prejudiciall to any of you); noe, not though perhaps wee should have been over punctuall in desireing a safe conduct. I intreat your Lordship to consider of how much concernment that desire of ours is, and of how litle that denyall of yours. I must deale plainly with your Lordship, and acquaint you that since my last wee have cause to doubt how farre some of our Commissioners already with you may be free to act upon the accompt of a further Treaty, and therefore must desire from your Lordship, or the Lord Fleetwood, a blanck passe not onely for names but number, otherwise when the Com-

[1] This refers to the suspicious favour which Lambert was just now showing to some of the Royalists.

missioners wee shall adde are come to meet at the place appointed, there may be an occasion of new messages, and consequently of new delayes. If your Lordship had thought fitt to have drawne off your forces to such quarters as had been most advantageous for the [keeping the] Countrey in quiett, according to the tenor of the Agreement, I conceived it would have been a great meanes of frustrating the designes of the Common Enemy, and was by mee desired for noe other end, unlesse it were to show my desire to peace; which peace I know not how much it can stand with your Lordship's resolucion to extend your quarters towards us, unlesse you thinke it reasonable to deprive us of that liberty you assume to your selves. I have soe much confidence in what you professe of your interest in and your obligacion to your Native Country, that if you thought your owne safety could not consist with the liberty of that, you would preserve your Country before your selfe; and as wee hope that is not the case now in hand, soe in all others there is nothing that wee shall preserve before it. Your march to Newcastle was not objected to by its selfe as a breach of the Agreement made by Collonel Lilburne and our Commissioners; but there was a thing of more concernment joyned with it, which was the stopping of the pacquetts between us and our Commissioners, and for that I have a letter sent mee by our Commissioners, signed by your Lordship's owne hands, upon which I know not how to putt any other interpretacion. And in your letter you mistake that Agreement, if the Commissioners have reported it rightly to mee, for it was not (as you say there) that the Reere forces should not advance, but that noe part of the forces should advance beyond the quarters which were then neerest one to another. It was then alleadged that I my selfe was upon my march to Berwick, which was absolutely false, and yett had [it] been [true] every way as justifiable as your Lordship's march to Newcastle. And for the stopping of the pacquett, if your Lordship's letter may be admitted to have any other interpretacion, yet my owne eyes will not suffer mee to beleive but it was sometymes opened.

Wherefore I shall not onely presse your Lordship once more not to act upon such surmizes, but that the previous Agreement to the next Treaty may be punctuall and distinct, and soe understood and observed. If your Lordship thinkes it fitt still to stay att Newcastle, I shall be satisfied, provided you be contented that I remayne at Berwick; but if you continue in your resolucion to extend your quarters neerer us, you must expect that I shall take the same liberty, and then I cannott promise you but wee may be necessitated to enter into hostility. For what concernes the officers hindred from commeing to their commands; if your Lordship will but make them understand and beleive soe much as your Lordship endeavours to perswade us, wee shall be satisfied. There was indeed a lettre written by mee to the Lord Mayor of London and Common Councill much to the same purpose with that inclosed by your Lordship (though not haveing myne owne copie heere at Berwick, I cannot say whether your copie be exactly true), and I know not what occasion either your Lordship or those at London had to send it downe hither. I doe not remember that it was agreed by Collonel Lilburne and our Commissioners that I should send noe letters to my freinds in England dureing the Treaty. I beleive you your selves have done the like to yours all England over, and that by severall of those messengers which came hither pretending peace. I shall instance in Captain Deane, who by his letters and bookes and private promises dissatisfied divers of the Troopers; not to mention those direct breaches of the Treaty, the listing of men, and endeavouring to raise the Militia in severall places of England, and in particular in London and Yorkshire. My Lord, in this I shall deale plainely with your Lordship: as I have hitherto, according to the best of my knowledge and power, observed every thing to which I was obliged by the Agreement made by Collonel Lilburne and our Commissioners, soe for future, whatsoever shall be agreed upon shall be observed in the same manner. But in all other things I shall (together with your Lordship) endeavour by a just defence to ballance these prepara-

cions of warre which seemes to threaten us with ruine, and to repell every weapon formed against us and our good old cause, and this I trust your Lordship will nott account an increasing the breach betwixt the armyes any more in us then in your selves. And your Lordship may assure your selfe that whensoever there shall be a full Agreement made, whatsoever shall be done to the end above mencioned shall be noe wayes prejudiciall to it, or to that reall profession which I shall make of being

Your Lordship's humble and faithfull servant,

G. M.

Berwick,
7 Dec., 1659.

Postscript:

Since the writeing of this letter I understand our Commissioners are come to New Castle that I may conferr with them in order to the Treaty. I desire that this may bee done with all speede, that there may bee as little delayes as may bee in finishing the Agreement.[1]

The Officers of the Army in Scotland to the Officers under General Lambert

Brethren and Fellow Souldjers, lii. f. 29.

Yours of the 29th of November wee received by Collonel Zanchy, wherein yow are pleased to take notice of our desire of an additionall treaty for the explanation of such things as were dubious, and for the perfecting of such necessary matters as were omitted in the last, but yow take not well the delayes which must attend those our desires, which yow conjecture may bee very advantagiouse to the comon enimie. Wee doe assure yow that none shalbee more

[1] On the same day, probably, Monck sent the undated letter to Fleetwood which is printed at p. 131 of the Report on Mr. Leyborne-Popham's MSS. Fleetwood's letter of December 1, to which he there refers, is missing, but the reference to the offer made to Lambert to withdraw his forces seems to show that the two letters to Lambert and Fleetwood were written at the same time.

earnest for expedition then ourselves, soe it may bee with satisfaccion to the nations and security to the good cause wee have soe long engaged for, and wee must declare to yow that the matters betweene us in contraversie (as wee conceive) are such as require the greatest deliberation, the welfare, libertyes, and safety of God's people being concerned; and wee doe ascertaine yow that wee shall indeavoure to give a good account of the peace of this country, and doubt not but to prevent all designes of Charles Stewart and his party, soe from yow wee cannot but expect the same; as wee have not made the breach betweene yow and us (our consciences beares us witnes), neither shall wee keepe it open; and give us leave to tell yow that wee well understand the grounds and reasons of our dissatisfaction which wee declared to the world, yet wee take God to witnesse that wee sought not the hazard of the lives of yow our brethren, but would have interrupted for your securitie as for our owne. Wee doe beleeve that yow are equally concerned in the happinesse and prosperity of our native country, and therefore wee did apply our selves to the Lord Fleetwood and the Generall Councill of Officers at London with our requests unto them, that this good cause might not miscarry by our divisions, and that there might bee such meanes used as might bee for the asserting these righteouse ends, in the prosecution of which wee have hazarded our lives and estates, which wee desire yow to call to rememberance, and seriously to lay to heart. As for those calumnies which yow complaine of as cast uppon yow by some of us, representing yow as enimies to magistracye and ministry, wee shall deale freely with yow. Wee wish there were not some with yow that doe give too greate a jealousie, not onely to us but to the people of God, that they are not very good friends to those two ordinances of God; but wee must further tell yow that wee have mett with greate reproach from some of yow, asperseing us all for ungodly and wicked, and declayming against the whole army heere, as if there were not a godly man amongst us. Wee must acknowled[g] our personall infirmities and weakenes[ses] to bee many and

greate, neither doe wee desire to justifie our selves either before God or man, yet the cause and interest wee engage for wee dare in the presence of God assert it both righteouse and holly, and our sincerity in the pursuance thereof. Wee desire the Lord to make both yow and us more holy in the power and spiritt of godlines; wee cannot bee conscious of these extraordinary crimes and wayes yow accuse us of, as if wee had dealt with yow contrary to the practize of declared enimies; wee can say in the integrity of our hearts that wee have prayed for yow, wee have sent our earnest request to yow, and some of our friends to pleade with yow for peace and the continuance of brotherly fellowshipp, which wee beleeve an enimy would not have practised. If it bee an offence to yow that wee have tould yow that wee could not receed from Parliamentary authority, by which this army was raised, comissionated, paid, and for which they have for these many yeares fought, then wee have offended, but wee cannot adjudge our selves unworthy for this matter. Wee take it very kindely and thankefully that yow have used your interest for the continuance of the treaty, and wee shall waite the pleasure of the Generall Councill of Officers at London, being ready to imbrace all meanes that may conduce to the makeing upp a full and perfect agreement; yet wee doe not interprett it as an argument of your inclination to peace or brotherly love to us that yow have interposed that nothing bee parted from, or new matter added, or further explanation admitted, neither therein, wee feare, will yow bee found such lovers of the people of God, or of your country, or of us, as yow soe often professe your selves to bee. Wee shall not disowne whatsoever in that agreement is conforme to the instructions by which our comissioners were authorized, and what is beyond wee doe desire it may bee further treated uppon and explain'd. Wee can say nothing to the third article of the agreement till the whole bee perfected and compleat. Wee have not much more to adde, but would desire yow to examine all the grounds and reasons that wee have held forth in our severall papers, and consider well whether your con-

fidence which yow professe in the decision of this contraversie can bee well grounded, yow appeareing against us your brethren, against the civill authority that hath intrusted yow, against your owne solemne and frequent promises and assurances of obedience and faithfullnesse, but wee hope the Lord will discover these things to yow, and not suffer soe many of his owne people to miscarry soe dangerously.

As for ourselves, what ever judgement yow may have of us, wee hope wee shall not bee found soe unfaithfull to God and our country as to imbroyle the nations in bloud, and ruine our deare friends for any preferment or advantage what soever. If there were not somthing in this contraversie more deare to us then our lives, wee should with Mephibosheth say to yow, take all, or with Jonah wee should desire to bee sunck in our hopes and enjoyments. For the Comonwealthes sake wee intreate yow to looke into the whole affaire, and yow will easily judge uppon which part selfe appeares. Wee desire heere noe greater commands for our selves or others; wee have laid those wee had cheerefully downe at the will of our superiors, but wee shall trouble yow noe further, but begg of the Lord that hee would preserve yow and us from these dangers [and] temptations, and keepe us firme and constant to the good old cause. Soe comitting yow to God, wee remaine

Your affectionate friends and humble servants,

Jo. Miller.	Rt. Winter.
Tho. Johnson.	Christo Blunt.
Will. Mayer.	Joseph Seymer.
Robert Reade.	Sam. Gearing.
John Clarke.	John Huitson.
Antho. Belsham.	Tho. Foster.
Ja. Hubberd.	Hen. Jackson.
Tho. Mayer.	Tho. Morgan.
Adam Edwards.	C. Fairfax.
Will. Elmes.	L. Lytcott.
John Herd.	Thomas Reade.

JOHN MAYER.	RICH. CLIFTON.
JO. FARMER.	JOSE SMITH.
THO. CRYER.	THO. COLLETT.
HENRY OGLE.	ROBERT COOPER.
PE. BANNESTER.	JOHN KOOAKE [?]
RICHARD SMITH.	GEO. SMETON.
WILL. DIKE.	ROBERT ANDERSON.

As to yours concerneing Colonel Cobbett, wee desire to let yow know that hee came not downe as a publicque messinger, but as a Colonel to his command, without leave from Generall Monck, after hee was outed by the Parliament, and that our Generall hath letters from a person of credit that hee had a designe to draw the army from him, if not to secure him, and by the confession of Ens. Browne somthing of that nature was discovered, upon all which our Generall thinkes fitt to keepe him heere till this busines bee more cleared.

News from Berwick

December 8, 1659.—Intelligence being brought that a partie of xxxii. f. 150b. the Lord Lambert's, consisting of 3 regiments of horse and a regiment of dragoones with 2 drake's, was come to Chillingham and other parts of Northumberland therabouts, the Lord Generall issued out orders for the drawing of the forces in these parts together, and march't out of Berwick by 3 of the clock in the morning, and was att Lady Kirkes a little after breake of day, where the severall troopes of his owne regiment of horse drew uppe to him; and then hee march't to Coldstreame, where quarter'd Justice Ogle's troope and 2 troopes of his owne that night, and the rest in New Coldstreame and the parts therabouts.[1]

Their front of threescore horse lay last night at Woller, and some inform'd they had 8 companies of foote with them.

[1] On the march to Coldstream and arrival there, see Baker, p. 697; Gumble, p. 161; Price, p. 744.

Major Richardson to General Monck[1]

My Lord,

Understanding there is to be a second treatie and att Newcastle by some comitiond from your Lordshipp and some from the Lord Lambert, I have taken the bouldnes to give your Lordshipp the trouble of this peruseall. My Lord, when we first took up Arms it was to assert the privilidges of Parliament, the lawes and liberties of the free born people of England, which for manie yeares we have been intrusted with by the people's representitiues in Parliament, which trust, my Lord, we have too often forfeited by our acquiessence with, though not active in, such great and straing undertakings as disolveing of Parliaments, by and from whom we can onelye hope for a just and lawfull settlment of our lawes and rights, now as I humblie conceiue unjustlie invaded: And now, my Lord, it haveing pleased the wise disposer of all thinges to putt it into your hart to stand up for our nation's dearest concernments, religion, lawes, and libberties, which your Lordshipp is stild the faithfull assertor of, and the eyes of the Commons of England under God being towards your Lordshipp for theyr deliuerance from slauerie or a sword gouernment, lett us not by this treatie giue that sadd occation for our children after us, for whom wee ingag'd to make them free, to saye there fathers was intrusted with the defence, as I have said before, of our dearest concernments, and while they acted faithfuly and according to theyr intrustment the Lord was pleased for manie yeares to prosper that work in there hands; butt now, by theyr condiscensions to the disquieters of our peace, they have given us up to the wills of men, whereby our consciences are inslau'd, our lives are geoberded, our liberties are lost, and the small patrimonie that they have left us we can noe longer call our owne then he shall please that wears the longest sword. My Lord, our cause is just,

[1] Phillips MSS. in the Advocates' Library.

and but thee same wee first ingaged for. Tyronie is tyronie whether it be in one person or in nine or tenn—I know noe difference. And therfor, as your Lordshipp has declar'd for the Parliament, none that knows your constancie haith cause to think in this treatie yow will in the least receed from that just and warrantable resolution. And your Lordshipp need not dowbt butt your faithfull endeauors for our nation's interest will soe happilie move upon the winges of the people's prayers therein, as your Lordshipp's true integritie for them wilbe crownd with happie success in this soe just a cause, which that it maye be shalbe the prayers of,

Right honorable,
Your Lordshipp's most humble servant,
TH: RICHARDSON.[1]

December 8, 1659.

[*Endorsed*] Major Richardson, incuragement to the worke.

News from Coldstream

xxxii. f. 151.

Coldstreame, 9 *December*, 1659.—Intelligence, That the Lord Lambert's whole party were drawne out from Newcastle, and were within 2 miles of Morpeth, That the 60 Dragoon's had possess't themselves of Chillingham Castle.

10 *December*, 1659.—This day Major Ogle return'd from Newcastle with a lettre from the Lord Lambert. They would nott permitt him to speake with his owne sister, nor any other, nor to lie alone. Cornett Caithnesse lay with him. Hee told xxxii. f. 151b.

[1] Should probably be signed Mi[chael] Richardson. Richardson was Major of Colonel Mitchell's regiment, and Governor of Aberdeen in 1657 (Thurloe, vi. 145, 162). In the summer of 1659 the command of the regiment was transferred to Overton, and Richardson and other officers dismissed (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1659–60, p. 177).

him that they had 30,000 men uppe in armes for them in severall places in England, besides those att Newcastle and London. . . . That there were Scotchmen entertayned in every troope and company, and some to command them. . . . There were about 2,000 horse drawne over Newburne on this side, butt nott soe farre as Morpeth, and that there were 35 dragoones in Chillingham Castle.

Major-General Lambert to General Monck

lii. f. 89b. My Lord,

Uppon Thursday att night Lieut.-Colonel Clobery came to this place, and Colonel Wilkes and Major Knight the day after, whome I acquainted with the present posture of affaires in reference to the treaty, &c., particularly that yow had desired mee to give them a safe conduct to Barwick, which accordingly I have done. Our proceed held with them I refer to their narration, who I doubt not will represent it truly to yow.

I this day received a letter from your Lordshipp, as likewise another from Colonel Sankey. That from your selfe gives answer to some things affirmed in mine of the 29 of November, and where itt states (as I judge) things amisse I have informed the commissioners of the truith, and not haveing tyme to answer them perticularly in writeing, I referr yow likewise to them. I perceive your Lordshipp expresses a desire of peace, and that with all expedition, which beeing still our desire, and what wee judge the present condition of our native country requires, wee should have been glad your additionall commissioners had bin heere; but to the end nothing may bee wanting on our parts I have by the advice of the officers sent yow a safe conduct with a blanck for your commissioners' names, desireing and not doubting that yow will appoint such as are of healeinge spirritts, unprejudiced, and not biassed by late preferment or otherwise, wherein wee shall studdy to answer the same ends by appointing men of the same

temper, and in this matter wee have expressed ourselves more fully to your commissioners. If you think fitt to make use of this safe conduct for the ends aforesaide, I desire yow will send them away with all expedition. I have heere-inclosed sent yow a letter from my Lord Fleetwood, which will give yow an account of some late proceedings at London and Portsmouth, both which seems to call for a speedy dispatche of this treaty, and in all probability may encrease the destraction of this nation, except the Lord in mercy prevent by giveing a right understanding betwixt yow and us.

Colonel Sankey informes that yow have thought fitt to putt a stopp to his returne by reason of a report of my march, I therefore thought fitt to acquaint yow that I did appoint a party of about 30 horse to march towards the Borders to gaine intelligence, hearing that your forces were drawne this way, which is noe other then what was done by your forces when they lay at Alnewick; and since that heareing nothing from Colonel Sankey, who was appointed to bee heere precisely on Wednesday last, and seeing yours by Mr. Ogle, which did seeme to putt us uppon delayes, I did judg him to bee deteyned, and did thereuppon order some forces to advance as farr as Morpeth, who yesterday marcht thither; but if it shall please the Lord to incline your hearts to peace uppon just and righteouse grounds, and that yow will put it in a way for the effectuall obtaining the same, wee shall on our part contribute our full endeavoures for perfecting thereof, and shall act nothing that may obstruct or prejudice the same.

My Lord, I remaine
Your Lordshipp's humble and faithfull servant,
J. LAMBERT.

Newcastle,
10th December,
1659.

The Representatives of the Congregated Churches about London to General Monck

xxii. f. 168b. My Lord,

Wee have received your Lordship's letter of November the 23rd by the Honourable and Reverend Brethren sent by the Churches to waite uppon yow, directed to some of us to bee comunicated to the Churches from whome they were sent, the Elders and Bretheren whose names are subscribed being convened, and haveing duly weighed your Lordshipp's letter with the report made unto us by the Bretheren, wee made bould to give the ensueing R[es]ult of ours thoughts. Wee doe humbly acknowledge your Lordshipp's respects unto the Churches of Christ expressed both in your letters, declarations, and kinde acceptance with friendly respective entertainement of theire messengers, whereof they have given a full accompt unto us, and wee are glad to heare of the clearenes of your Lordship's intencions both as to the peace of these nations and the preservation of the old interest of the good people of them and the Saints of God in them; and wee must alsoe assure yow that wee are abundantly satisfied with the intention of the army heere in England as to the same ends, which they have manifested in their late resolutions for the speedy calling of Parliament, wherein if any thing seeme to bee wanting on your parts it will bee your serious interposition that it may bee such as may preserve the good people from being made a prey to the common enimy, neither doe wee see any thing like to be insisted on by them detrimentall to the godly ministry. In the meane time wee cannot but sadly informe your Lordship that by your divisions not onely incurragement hath bin given to the common enimy, but they have made such a progresse in pursuite of their designe, as that if there bee a continuance for a few dayes in these breaches it will bee out of your power and theires alsoe to shew the least part of your intended kindnes to the people of God, who are in danger now every moment to bee destroyed and slaine by their inraged enimies.

Wee are perswaded that if yow were in this place, and saw

the tumults, rage, and combination of the old enimies, with the probability they have to accomplish their desires every day, you would not defer one moment to put your selfe into a posture of opposeing them, which in the condition in which yow are [, yow are] not onely uncapable to performe, but alsoe occasionally give them incurragement unto. The state of the quarrell in these parts now is not a Parliament or none, the last Parliament or not, but [the preservation of] our lives from the common enimy or not; and wee would be sorry on your account that the bloud of the Saints of God, and of all that hath bin ingaged in our common cause, should with soe much collor bee laid at your doore, as it wilbee if things continue in the present posture a few dayes longer. Both yow there and the army heere fixing uppon the same things, all particular centring and a Parliament [1] not to close imediatly soe as to unite in the defence of the common interest, and of the Saints of God, is soe strange a judgement as noe age can pairolele.

Wee cannot but acquaint your Lordshipp that all the feares of the people of God at this day, yea, and all their danger, arrise mearely from the differences yow abide in, which if not speedily remedied will prove the utter ruine of that magistracy and ministry which on both sides are pleaded for.

Wee have not more to add but onely to reminde your Lordshipp of that portion of Scripture wherewith yow close yours to us: 1 Samuel 25. And wee can with confidence assure yow that it will one day bee noe griefe at heart unto yow that yow have bin prevented from shedding bloud, and made instrumentall for the recovery of the portion of Christ in these nations from the mouth of that greate destruction whereinto it is now cast. With our prayers for your Lordship, that God will guide yow into strate paths, wee rest

Your Lordshipp's most humble servants,

EDW. WHALLEY. WM. GOFF.
JOHN ROWE. JOHN STONE.

[1] The sense requires: 'all particular demands centreing in a Parliament.' A od many words appear to be left out in Clarke's copy of this letter.

	MATT. BARKER.	THO. OWEN.
	JOHN OWEN.	JOS. CARRILL.
	PH. NYE.	WM. BRIDGE.
Westminster,	WM. GREENHILL.	ISAAC KNIGHT.
December 13, 1659.	WM. HOOKE.	[SETH] WOOD.

Newsletters from London

xxxii. f. 164. 13 *December*.—Wee are heere in great disorder, and expect to bee in bloud every houre. The Citty resolve to have the Militia in their hands, lett itt cost what itt will. They att Whitehall keepe us in delayes with treaties, and the Committee of Safetie for the Citty, consisting of 6 Aldermen and 15 Common Councill [men], have had severall meetinges with the Committee of Safety att Whitèhall, butt nothing satisfactory. The citizens are arming and providing themselves, and are all fix't for my L. G. M. his Declaration. Lord Disbrow tooke possession of the Tower yesterday, and Salmon is made Lieutenant therof and Col. Fitch is secured.[1] Portesmouth is in a good condition; there are 10 or 12 good frigotts have declar'd for the Parliament and are all secured, &c. Sir A. H., Col. M., and Col. Walton are still there, seeking to make a diversion and doing what they can. They are arming and raysing all the Anabaptists and other sectaries in all places. They have bin searching to secure Mr. Weaver, Mr. Scott, and Sir Ant. Ashley Cooper and the rest of the Councill of State, as alsoe Col. Okey, butt have nott yett found them. The seamen and watermen [are] all ready to rise and assist the cittizens, and itt's feared this weeke will bee a bloody weeke heere in all appearance; the Lord divert his judgements. They are resolved uppon 2 Houses of [Parliament], and will make such restrictions that the Parliament shall signify nothing, the other House to bee chosen by themselves, and have

[1] There was a plot to surprise the Tower on December 12, in which Colonel Fitch, the Lieutenant of the Tower, Captain Spooner, and others were concerned. An account of it is given in *Mercurius Politicus*, December 8–15, 1659, p. 954.

voted a Parliament [to meet] the 12th of January, butt this gives noe satisfaction, and divisions grow worse and worse. Itt's like to bee a perfect [cypher]. J. B.

Col. Atkins and Col. Markham are still in prison, butt goe out, as I heare, with their messenger.

13 *December*.—The Citty lies under the highest discontents that ever I knew itt, shoppes shutt uppe, trade gone, feares and jealousies multiply. Nothing will serve the rude multitude butt to have a free Parliament, and the exercise of the Militia in their owne hands. They will nott believe that Monck's forces are soe weake, and his cause soe bad as itt's said [?]. Lett thinges goe how they will for [the] present, wee shall have a Parliament next month. BENKESHALL. xxxii. f. 165b.

London, December 13*th*, 1659.—The face of affaires never looke worse in this place then at this time, for the generallity of the Citty expects daily to bee in eares with the souldjery. I suppose yow have had an account of the tumult that was suppressed by Col. Hewson, but the little bloud that was spilt that day, and with the Councill of some to put hand granadoes in Pauls and other places to fire the Citty if they should stir, have exceedingly exasperated and disobliged the Citty in generall, soe they want but an oppertunity to [*blank*]. xxxii. f. 183.

The proposalls of the Citty to the Committee of Safety and Councill of officers are very high, and many thinkes will not bee granted, so that the misunderstanding is like to continue. They desire to have theire Militia at theire owne choise, and to call a free Parliament, and to remove the souldjers out of the Citty; the Tower should have been taken and declared for the Parliament but was prevented. Col. Fitch was to consent for it, which hath occasioned a gentle confinement to him in Wallingford Howse, which is

like to continue till things is a little setled. There is one Col. Fagg with him, who was to raise forces in Sussex, which, if hee had not bin prevented, would have had a greater body together ere this,[1] but itts thought there are and wilbee diverse riseings for the Parliament. They say Hacker in Lestershire is busy. Many doe think that the old Parliament must bee called, though the Councells in power heere have determined otherwise; that a Parliament shalbee called [is declared], but what qualifications [is not determined], and till this bee perfected, which I think will not bee done without either the agreement or conquest of Generall Monck, there are 12 appointed to vote in cheife whose names I cannot give you yet. It is credibly reported that Sir Arthur, Coll. Morley, and Col. Whetham is gone from Portsmouth by sea to Generall Monck. Divers have absented themselves about the surpriseing of the Tower, as Sir Antho: Ashley Cooper, Mr. Scott, Mr. Weaver, and Col. Okey,[2] but your friends place is still firme in the Tower because of his faithfull behaviour.[3] It is beleeved Col. Fitche wilbee restored by order of Parliament; it is put out of question hee will if the Long Parliament bee called againe; but all things and setlement in this place depends uppon the good agrement or successe in the North; this is true indeede, but greate are the distempers in all places and persons; there were many of the Generall Councill of officers that were for the restoring the old Parliament.

Captain Culcheth to Mr. William Clark[4]

Honnoured Sir,

I dare not take the bouldnes to write to my Lord Generall unless it were more to purpose. And therefore I begg your favor to acquaint his Lordshipp that I am noe other then a servant of my Lord Howards, and soe must nether trott nor walke but as

[1] Colonel John Fagg was arrested in his own house by Lieut.-Colonel Lagoe. He was raising forces to march to Portsmouth. *Mercurius Politicus*, December 8–15, p. 946. [2] Thurloe, vii. 797. [3] Lieut.-Colonel Miller?
[4] Phillips MSS. in the Advocates' Library

hee bidds: and the trueth is you are at that distance at present that I cannot leave my chardge but to utter ruein. If it were my owne there were the less matter.

Soe soone as the messendger came to mee with his Lordshipp's two letters, I dispatcht him back for feare of an ill turne, for heares briske worke.

I am, Sir,
Your very humble servant,
RICH: CULCHETH.

Haward, December the 13th, 1659.

[*Endorsed*] Capt. Culcheth, conc. his not appearing without order from my Lo. Howard.

Major Shaftoe to General Monck[1]

My Lord,

After A tender of my duty, zit I am soe well satisfied with your Lordshipes present ingagement that I am much imbouldned to make an offer of my humbell services to yow and your present cawese; my Lord, I shall not giue yow any ffurther truble, only giue me leaue to crave the same incurragement yow are plased to aford others; And power ffrom your Excellence to put your commands in execution; This done I will not doute to appeare before yow in the worst of timese with fforty or ffifty horse. And if it shall please God soe to strenthen your hands as to cleare this poore County of theese men now in the midist of us, I dare ingage to raise the beest part of a Regement. Att present I have noe more, but will euer subscribe my selfe

Your Lorshipes most humble
and ffaithfull saruent,
DALSTON SHAFTOE.

ffrom Shaftoe, the 14th of December, 1659.

By Captain William Dowens, if you please, I may reseue your Lordshipes comands.

[1] Phillips MSS. in the Advocates' Library.

The proposalls of the Commissioners of Shires to my Lord Generall and his officers, December 13, 1659

xxiii. f. 157. 1. That the Lord Generall may be pleased to appoint a committee in each shire for regulating the affaires thereof, in order to his Lordship's commands and their owne preservacion.

2. That his Lordship will allow each shire presently to raise (for securing the peace and their owne safety) some small proportion of horses under the conduct of such persons as his Lordship shall think fit to trust.

3. That his Lordship will declare, for the greater encouragement of the shires at the returne of their commissioners, if the treaty shall breake up and take noe effect, imediatly upon the notice thereof, that hee does authorize the shires to putt themselves in the best posture they can for his assistance and their owne defence.

4. That for the foresaid effect his Lordship will be pleased to furnish each shire with some proporcion of armes upon payment of the just rates thereof within one moneths time after the receipt of them.

5. That all gentlemen who are free to comply with his Lordship's desires may for themselves and servants have liberty to carry their armes.

The Lord Generall Monck's answere to the proposalls of the Commissioners of the shires of Scotland, presented to him December 13, 1659

xxiii. f. 157b. 1. To the first his Lordship answereth, that hee doth authorize the noblemen and justices of the peace of each county, with the advice and consent of the governour of the next adjacent guarrison, to putt in execucion such orders and commands as his Lordship shall give for securing the peace of the county, provided the said noblemen and justices be such as have subscribed to live peaceably

and act nothing to the prejudice of the Commonwealth of England, or in favour of Charles Stuart's interests, and that none of them be papists.

2. To the second his Lordship answereth, that hee doth allow to the counties next adjacent to the Highlands, vizt. to the counties of Dumbarton and Sterling, forty men to beare armes, to the county of Pearth forty men in armes, to the county of Forfar and Kincardin forty men in armes, and to the county of Aberdeen forty men in armes, which are to be a guard for the security of the said countyes against theives and robbers, and for the rest of the shires his Lordship will take care, if hee shall have occasion to remove farther out of Scotland. And his Lordship doth allow the heritors of the above named shires to make choice of a fitt person to comand the said guard, they giveing security to the governour of the next adjacent guarrison for his fidelity and good behaviour in six hundred pounds sterling.

3. To the third his Lordship will give answere with all possible speed after the issue of the treaty is known.

4. To the fowerth his Lordship answereth, that hee will furnish them with fitt meanes for their defence whensoever hee apprehends their peace and safety to be in danger.

5. To the fifth his Lordship answereth, that such noblemen and gentlemen as have subscribed as above-mencioned in the first article shall have liberty (with passes from his Lordship) to weare their swords, and fower servants to be soe likewise arm'd for the attendance of each nobleman, and [two] for each gentleman.[1]

[1] Phillips, in his continuation of Baker's *Chronicle*, on the authority of Sir T. Clarges and his papers, prints these five propositions and Monck's answer (p. 696). He omits, however, the stipulation in Clause 1 of Monck's answer, imposing the obligation not to act in favour of Charles Stuart, and this suppression is obviously made in order to clear Monck's reputation for loyalty. Phillips also gives an excellent account of the discussions which took place on the question of arming the Scots. See also Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, ii. 53, 335, 355 (Scoble's translation); Price, p. 739 (ed. Maseres); Gumble, p. 149; *Baillie Letters*, iii. 439; Burnet's *Own Time* (ed. Airy), i. 152, note.

General Monck to the City of Edinburgh

xxxii. f. 163. My Lord and Gentlemen,

I have receiued your letter and the letters of severall other burghes, and doe finde my self obliged to returne you reall and hearty thankes for your affection to the Commonwealth and the army heere, and to that good interest for which wee are now contending, and in particular to my self, and to assure you that wee shall alwaies retaine a gratefull sence of itt, and shall bee ready uppon all occasions to protect and incourage your citty and all the other burghs. I desire you to communicate this to such other burghs as have subscribed the letters, and remayne

Your Lordshippes very humble servant,

G. M.

To the Lord Provost, Bailiffs, and Councill of Edinburgh.

The like to the same purpose to the severall Burghs.

General Monck to Lieutenant-General Fleetwood

lii. f. 37b. My Lord,

I have received your Lordshipps of the 6th of December, in which your Lordshipp is pleased to intimate the receipt of mine by Captain Loyde. My Lord, I can say it in the integrity of my heart that there is not a man liveing in these Nations who doth with greater ardency of affection desire a righteouse and well-grounded peace then my selfe, and a unanimouse consent in the armyes of this Commonwealth in carryeing on the good worke of the blessed Reformation in these nations. In which greate and gloriouse worke, I can assure your Lordshipp, these two are my cheife aymes: the security and incurragement of the chosen people of God and theire Christian concernements, and the civill rights and libertyes of the people of these Nations. And if it shall please the Lord to incline your heart, and the hearts of those that

are under your command, to a complyance with mee in the necessary medicines that conduces to these ends, there cannot (I may speake it with boldnesse) bee the least appearance of difference betwixt us. I am deepely sensible of the danger of delay in this worke, and doe therefore desire that all diligence may bee used to putt our present differences to a speedy issue, I hope a peaceable one, and that private concernement may keepe noe place in our hearts whilst the greate interests of our Country lye at stake. I am obliged to your Lordshipp for the accompt yow have given mee of the affaires of London and Portsmouth. It cannot but bee a greife unspeakeable uppon my heart that such as are raised and maintained by theire Country for the preservation of itts peace and libertyes should by theire high violence to civill authority engage it in bloud, and I hope by this time your Lordshipp is truly sensible of the danger of dissolveing by force the authority of a Nation, and withall I heartily pray you may not heare of sadder consequences of their late unadvised actions then yet yow have. My heart is ready to bleede when I think of the lamentable confusions these Nations are involved in, but I hope the Lord will of his abundant grace and mercy yet guide our feete into the wayes of peace, and heale the breaches which our iniquityes and backslideings have made amongst his people. I have sent the inclosed to the Lord Lambert in order to a farther Treaty,[1] to which his Lordshipp condescending, I shall send my Commissioners with all possible speede to joyne with his Lordshipp, and beseech the Lord to give a blessed issue to theire endeavoures for peace. Wherein I hope your prayers wilbee joyned with those of

Your affectionate and humble servant,

G. M.

Barwick, 14 December,
1659.

[1] The letter to Lambert is evidently that printed in the *Report on Mr. Leyborne-Popham's MSS.*, p. 138.

Newsletter

xxxii. f. 187. *London, December* 15, 1659.—The other night was expected a great rising, butt in hopes of a good answer from the Common Councill deferr'd all till yesterday; but the Common Councill satt from morning till night, and instead of having a good answer they are clearly frustrated, for they have order'd Parliament to sitt the 24th of next month, but [with] abundance of limitations, as those that are in itt to have noe designe of Charles Stuarts interest, nor for a single person, nor that they shall nott meddle to disband the army, and severall other thinges, and will have, instead of a House of Lords, 21 persons called by the name of Conservators, who are to sitt and approve of their actinges.[1] Portesmouth is besieged, and severall men kill'd before itt, butt as to the generallity of the citty they are much discontented with affaires, soe that it is really to bee supposed that thinges may nott bee soe well as they thinke of.

B. H.

General Monck to the Governor of Stirling

xxxii. f. 187b. Sir,

The Noblemen and Gentlemen of the severall shires in Scotland, haveing at theire late meeting with mee the 13th instant at Barwick delivered unto mee severall letters signed by the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Justices of peace of theire respective shires, declareing theire resolutions to live peaceably, and to use theire endeavoures to suppresse any that shall endeavoure to disturbe the publique peace in my absence, I desire yow will give the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Justices of peace in the shire of Sterling all the possible assistance and incurragement you may in the doeing of the same, except the furnishing them with amunition

[1] For the 'seven fundamentals' and other particulars of the constitution proposed by the Council of Officers, see *Mercurius Politicus*, December 8–15, pp. 946, 956. The number for December 15–22 contains a declaration against the scheme, published by the Lord Mayor and the Common Council (p. 967). On this constitution see also Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 171–4.

and armes, which yow are not to let them have without my speciall order, and alsoe upon occasion to assist them with such a party as yow can conveniently spare without hazard to the garrison; such of them as have subscribed the letter are to have passes, the Noblemen for themselves and fowre servants, and the Gentlemen and Justices of peace for themselves and two servants. I have granted passes to divers of them, but in case any of those who have subscribed the letter and have not had passes from mee should come to you for passes, I doe hereby impower you to grant them, but not to any who have not signed, unles they were absent through sicknes, or upon some extraordinary occasion, and then they are to signe a copie of the same letter (whereof I have sent yow inclosed a copie, and of my returne to it, with the names of the subscribers, that you may know to whome to give passes). And in case any of the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Justices of peace of the said shire should secure any persons who should attempt to disturbe the peace of this Nation, yow are either to secure them in your garrison, or such of them as yow have not conveniency to secure you are to send to the prison or goale for this county, or other secure places as you shall think fitt.[1]

Barwik, 15 Dec., 1659.

General Monck to Major-General Lambert

My Lord, — lii. f. 40b.

I am loth to tell your Lordshipp what discontent the late advance of your forces hath been among the officers heere, and what apprehensions they have of itt, and I am the lesse able to give them satisfaction uppon that point, because (to tell your Lordshipp the truith) I am not yet satisfied my selfe with that accompt it hath pleased yow to give of itt. It would much conduce to the allayeing of this heate if yow shall please to withdrawe those forces which yow have advanced into Northumberland,

[1] The Governor of Stirling was Colonel Thomas Reade.

Westmerland, and Cumberland, and that troope which in the tyme of the treaty was drawne into Carlyle, and would bee a meanes to revive in us a good opinion of your Lordshipp['s] inclination to peace, which by that act of yours was a little startled in us. If your Lordshipp thinks this a delay on our parts, yow may please to consider that it is grounded uppon an act of your owne, and not a thing of our seekeing, and that it is in your owne power to expedite it by the speedy returne of your force, and the tyme your soe doeing will take upp will bee of noe advantage to mee, because I am already prepared for treaty, and as soone as your Lordshipp shall have given us notice that your forces are withdrawne wee shalbe ready with our commissioners to attend your Lordshipp's, and I shall endeavoure to chuse men of such a spirritt as I expect from your Lordshipp, it beeing my desire, equally with yours, that a suddaine period may bee putt to this unhappy difference.

It was desired by us, and agreed to by Colonel Sankey, that the commissioners should meete at Alnewick, as a place of most conveniency and indifferency for theire sitting, which proposall of ours I suppose your Lordshipp will not reject, unlesse yow bee contented to suffer the delayes which the diversions and distance of Newcastle will bee sure to occasion. I shall rest in expectation of your suddaine and satisfactory answer soe much the more contentedly because I am confident of your desire to peace, and of your willingnes still to continue me in the condition of

Your Lordship's humble servant,

[George Monck].

Barwick, 16 December, 1659.

P.S.—I am informed that since the assurance given mee in your Lordshippes late lettre sent to mee by Colonel Sankey, that noe officers belonging to Scotland were stayed against their will from coming hither, that Captain Durdoe, of Colonel Reade's regiment, is staid att Newcastle, and severall others in other places.

I desire your Lordshippe they may bee permitted to come for Scotland.

Colonel Hughes to General Monck[1]

Citadell, 16th December, 1659.

Right honourable,

It was your Lordshippes pleasure without any desert of myne that is imaginable not onely to continewe but to renewe your favours unto me;[2] it is a wonder and a series of kindenes that you wold looke uppon soe lowe and incapacitated a person for soe high and publique concernments as my selfe, it proceedeth altogether out of kindenes than anythinge there is of worth or fittnes in me, and therefore I neede begge of God an enlarged heart in [his] wayes, and thankefullnes to glorifie him in his providence and your honor for your kindenes and condiscention herein. I wishe I may be enabled to evidence it more then I can expresse it; it is more uppon my thoughts and desires too then I shall be able to acquitt, be pleased therefore to accept of the will for the deede.

Be pleased alsoe to knowe that Capt. Clifton, as I beleeve he will informe your Lordshipp himselfe, that he, out of tendernes to Capt. Collinson, beinge eldest Captaine, is not willinge to prevent him of that which is, as he judgeth, his right, yet he is exceedinge thankfull to your Lordshipp for your care and singular favour towards him, and will submitt to what you shalbe pleased to doe therein.

My Lord, Capt. Newman is a gentleman that hath bene for some yeares very serviceable to the Regiment, I meane sithence I came to be Major, and before too, and a man of a publique spiritt,

[1] Phillips MSS. in the Advocates' Library.

[2] Monck was exceedingly dissatisfied with the conduct of Colonel Timothy Wilkes as a negotiator. When the three commissioners returned from London he confined Colonel Wilkes for discovering, or at least not pursuing, some private instructions; but after a while Wilkes was released, upon satisfaction that what he did was out of ignorance and not malice (Baker, p. 696). On December 15, Thomas Hughes, formerly major, was made colonel in his place.

and hath evidenced himselfe in a highe measure to be your Lordshippes and the Comonwealthes servant, and I am confident if it should come to the test he wold be willinge to quitt his liefe in the service of eyther. Your Lordshippe hath had some experience of him, and that aboundantly, and I dare boldly say there is not he liveinge will exceede him in his faithfulnes, constancy, and resolution in the propogation of the good cause and interrest of the nation, if you'l be pleased to looke uppon him; and as we have cause to judge him, he is capable to doe greate service for the nation, and in case Major Clifton doe not accept of your Lordshippe's kindenes that this gentleman may taste of your favourr herein. This I must confesse, that I knowe noe thinge of Capt. Collinson[1] but that he is an honest, faithfull, and able man too, and doeth deserve to be owned as such. I shall not trouble your honor with tediousenes, but shall referre the whole busines to doe therein as is most due to your consideration; be pleased to add to this that my Leivetenant may have his Commission for my new Company, and myselfe for Capt. Wilkes Company. I am and ever wilbe, my Lord, the Commonwealthes and your Lordshippes servant while my name is THO: HUGHES.

I desire your Lordshippe wold be pleased to give a Commission for Quartermaster George Selby to be Lievetenant to my brother Robert Forrester. Mr. Robinson hath bene from the first begininge and raiseinge of this Regiment till now, and not preferred; he desireth to succeede him.

Captain Newman to General Monck[2]

May it please your Lordship,

In all humilitie I am bold to tender these few lines to your Lordshipp in behalfe of myselfe. Truly it is a thing I should not have done, nor have I been used to, but the perswassion of frends

[1] Captain William Collinson. [2] Phillips MSS. in the Advocates' Library.

puts me upon it. I understand our late Collonel hath layd downe,[1] and truly, my Lord, I look for noe better from him then to doe that which would cause him to be layd assid: I sent him word by an Ensigne that was his Clarke, that if he forsooke that for which we had ingaged he should be to me noe more then one I never saw in my life: nay, had he stayed, my honourable Lady, your Noble Consort, knowes 14 dayes agoe that I sayd I would serue [as] a trouper rather then under him that had betrayed his trust; but he being off, as I heare, and our honest-hearted Major made Collonel, for which I rejoyce, and shall doe my best to make all others doe the like, as I am sure they have noe cause to the contrarie, and I find they are well content with it, soe I heare Capt. Clifton is made by your Lordshipp Major; whatever your Lordshipp hath done I am well pleased with, but I doe understand Capt. Clifton refusses it, being in a better and more profitable place,[2] and he doth it upon this account. As [to] Capt. Collinson, who is at Inverlethen being the eldest Captain, it is true he is soe; but Capt. Clifton, I suppose, would not have refused your Lordship's favour, but that he is better and hath lese trouble then if a Major: however, my Lord, if your Lordshipp will but inquire into the datte of his and my Commission, you will find mine senior, only Collonel Fenwick had a great respect to him, and he raising his Company nearer then I did mine, got to Barwicke before me, and alsoe Collonel Fenwicke kept him in his favour with intent (as he did after) to bestow his neece one him, soe by favour he got elder Coulers then I, soe that I was put by;[3] but for preferment for my selfe I dare not be soe bold as to presse your Lordshipp, but only statte the buisnesse as it is in truth, and humbly leave it with your Lordshipp ether for the Major's place or the Castle; and if your Lordship say noe to

[1] Wilkes, cf. p. 197.

[2] Captain Richard Clifton, to whom Monck now offered a majority, was Governor of Edinburgh Castle.

[3] Colonel George Fenwick was colonel of the regiment when it was first raised, and was succeeded by Wilkes about 1656.

ether, I am content and submit my selfe to your Lordshipp's pleasure. Since the begining of 1643 I have been in Comission in the horse seruice as quarter-master, Coronet, and Lievtenant to 1650, and from that time Captain here in this Regiment, and alway when the Major was absent officated as Major, sometimes 14 monthes together; and for my actings in this cause, if ever your Lordship come to London, as I beleeue you will er long, some of the most eminent in the Cittie can certifie what wayes I have taken to give them intelegance both by sea and land, and what I have done heare to promotte this cause I can leaue to the testy-money of the Regiment in which I am, and for my resolution for time coming let this be kept against me to fly in my face if I desert it: though I was but my selfe alone I shall never betray my posteritie, but seale with my bloud, if called to it, that I now say; if I would give my reasson I should be tedious and soe trouble your Lordshipp. I hope your Lordshipp will think of these few broken lines, and remember him that is and shall ever continew,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithfull and obedient seruant,

WILL: NEWMAN.[1]

Colonel Hughes to General Monck[2]

My Lord,

I received intimation just nowe from Major Symervill that there hath beene theis fowre dayes last past a convention of some noble and gentlemen of this nation att my Lord Twadale his house in Edinburgh; they are the Lord Brichin, Earle of Penmuir's sonne, Colonel Hey, whoe was lately imprisoned and dischardged by your Lordshippes order from Edinburgh Castle, Earle of Southaske, and

[1] Undated, but doubtless written December 16, 1659. In 1644 Newman was a lieutenant in Captain Berry's troop in Cromwell's regiment of horse. In February 1662 he was a prisoner in the Gatehouse, and his wife Susanna petitioned for his release (*Somers's Tracts*, vii. 580).

[2] Phillips MSS. in the Advocates' Library.

Colonel Bartlett. It is very much to be feared theire meeteinge tends to doe disservice to your Lordshippe and the Comonwealth, and for prevention thereof, if we were a little more ascertained of it, I would humbly propose that your Lordshippe for the better secureinge of the peace they may be secured, and att such a tyme as that, if possible, they may be taken in the very act, with all theire papers, if there be any such.

I have sent your Lordshippe an accompt of the 100 peire of pistolls and Bandileares I sent overland; I hope they are secured in the quarters. I sent also Collonel Robsons answeare to the message to him att Ayre. There have bene some passengers that came from Holland sent unto me from Bursleands;[1] some had bene in the Danishe service, but had theire dischardges, others that were seamen; the first, I tooke theire engagement, the seamen I dischardged. Another that came from Holland that had noe passe I have him in custody untill he procure security. Sir Mungow Murrowe is come with his fleete and landed att Ely, but cannot heare where he is.

I shall take care to send the 500 paire pistolles and Bandileares accordinge to your Lordshippes order; the weather as to shippinge is uncerteine, and if I were put to a streight as to the sendinge of them I may be disappointed; if yow be pleased to give me order eyther to presse or to send for horses into Countrey, it wold be the surest way, that soe I might send them by land. Mr. Booth hath brought in some provision, both Beefe and porke. We are daily doeinge somethinge to put us in a fittnes to secure this place.[2] I hope in a very short while to put ourselfes in such a posture that we neede not feare what our adverse freinds sould doe against us.

My Lord,

I am your Lordshippes most humble servant,

16 Decr. 1659. THO: HUGHES.

[1] Burntisland?

[2] Leith.

Sir Hardress Waller to General Monck

lii. f. 43b. Sir,

I hope our antient acquaintance and continued acts of friendshipp on your part, although but weakely returned on mine, may intitle mee this priviledge and freedome to lett yow know that I doe with much more willingnesse sett my hand to the presenting of yow with these lynes then I did lately in subscribeing my name to a letter that was written to yow from hence, which I did for some dayes dispute with and contend against, untill some sharper expressions weere expunged out of the letter, and yet not all, nor the letter running in that straigne that I desired, and prevailed with mee for the signeing of it, beeing noe otherwise free, either to the forme or the matter, then that I hoped that the tendancy thereof would affect an accord betweene such indeered friends as those of the army, which rather then not testifie my desire unto I was perswaded to tollerate that expression of bearing our witnesse against your undertakeing (although that expression was contrary to my declared sence at that time), or to bee singular in my judgement and want the oppertunity of manifesting my desire to interceede for a peace, findeing itt pressed uppon mee that the not signeing of that letter would prove an hinderance to the promoteing thereof, which I held more requisite to bee instrumentall in at such a season then to examine the justice of any proceeding that might hazard the whole cause, and of that I am soe highly sensible that I could offer my selfe a sacrafize to have that effect. If the Lord have yet a mercy left for such a provokeing people as to preserve us from such a sad stroke, which I looke uppon as the highest of judgements, and thus farr I have both borne upp my owne spirritt, and have indeavoured to satisfie others that I durst ingage my selfe for yow, uppon that knowledge and friendshipp which, I hope, is not abated on your part, noe more then it is on mine, that yow will neither deliver upp the English interest to the Scotche Nation nor betray this good old cause to the Cavaleere party; and

that which keepes upp the same hopes in mee still is that those that contend for these good ends wilbee taught of the Lord to agree in the way. Your old faithfull servant, Captain John Campbell, is expressly imployed att this tyme to give yow an accompt of a late action heere at Dublin, which, though by men it must undergoe the hazard to bee judged much by your successe, yet I hope in the bottome of it there will bee found nothing but sincerity and a true desire to maintaine that interest wee have soe long contended for, and uppon this accompt and noe other I shall desire yow to judge the action of

Sir,

As much your obliged Friend and affectionate Servant as ever,

HAR. WALLER.[1]

Dublin-Castle,
December the 16th,
1659.

[1] Monck's answer to this letter, dated December 28, is printed later. Waller begins by apologising for his part in the joint letter of the Irish officers, dated November 4 (see *ante*, p. 95, note). The 'late action' mentioned towards the end of the letter was the seizure of Dublin Castle on December 13 by Colonel John Bridges, Major Edward Warren, Captain Abel Warren, and others. These three officers published an account of their enterprise, entitled *A perfect Narrative of the grounds and reasons moving some Officers of the Army in Ireland to the securing the Castle of Dublin for the Parliament*, 4to, 1660. (See also *Report on the Duke of Portland's MSS.* i. 688, and *Thomason Tracts*, E. 1013, 8.) In *Mercurius Politicus* for December 22–29, p. 987, the declaration of the officers, dated Dublin Castle, December 14, is printed at length. It begins 'Whereas by divine permission a new interruption hath been put upon the Parliament.' The seizure of Dublin Castle was followed by a similar movement in other parts. Munster was secured by Lord Broghil, Connaught by Sir Charles Coote, and Ulster by Colonel Gorges (Ludlow, ii. 185–189). Monck's kinsman, Cornet Henry Monck, was one of the minor actors in the movement (Baker, p. 699). Sir Hardress Waller's connection with it is defined in the *Perfect Narrative*. He was an accomplice after the event. After securing Dublin Castle, say the authors, 'it now behoving those thus engaged to put themselves into that order whereby the work in their hands might be carried on (by the blessing of the Lord) more prosperously,' and, considering the countenance 'they might have in that matter by the Major-General, if he would own them in it, they thereupon desired his heading them, and that by his hand orders might press upon all occasions, he being the visible superior officer in Ireland, whereunto (they and that undertaking appearing

Mr. Samuel Hammond to General Monck

xxxii. f. 167.

Right Honourable,

Having this evening received the inclosed with earnest desires that I would with all care and speede convey it to your Lordshipp, I have desired the bearer heereof, Mr. Thomas Watson, a member of our Church, to waite upon yow with it, not doubting of its Christian acceptance uppon the accompt of the churches from whence it comes.

My Lord, might I once more take the boldnes to present my most humble request (even in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ) on the behalfe of those poore nations over whose heade the sword is hanging in an haire, that your Lordshipp would pursue some effectuall expedient for the healeing of our breaches? My Lord, I heare there will certainely bee a Parliament and Senate to bee chosen by the people, and for other things I humbly conceive your Lordshipp uppon the renueing of the treaty will receive satisfaction.

My Lord, I humbly thanke your Lordshipp for your Christian respects to mee when waiteing uppon yow, and am emboldned further to begg your pardon for this boldnesse, and subscribe my selfe

Yours, &c.

Newcastle, 17 December, 1659.

SAM. HAMMOND.

for the Parliament) he assented, he having been some weeks before prepared by a general discourse concerning it' (p. 9). Waller therefore became the nominal head of the movement. Two letters from Jones to Waller, upbraiding him for his part in it, and one to Colonel Thomlinson on the same subject, dated December 19, 20, and 22, are printed in the *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. i., New Series, part xiii. 1860-1, pp. 293-7. The three commissioners, Jones, Thomlinson, and Corbet, were all made prisoners by the revolting officers. Moreover, when Ludlow returned to Ireland to take up his command (December 30), Hardress Waller and the officers refused to allow him to land. Their correspondence on the subject is printed in Ludlow's *Memoirs*, ii. 449, ed. 1894. In a letter of January 16, 1660, Monck joined in the attack on Ludlow (*ib.* ii. 471).

Sir Andrew Bruce of Erlishall to General Monck[1]

My Lord,

I have heard that the Lords and gentilman employed to comunicat your Lordships desyrs to this shyre[2] have resolved to put ane evill character on mee and my sonne, wha wer naver acquented nethir at the general meiting of the Shyre nor at the particular of presbiteries, as I have acquented the bearer heirof. I know it hath bein ther designe to put me out of credit (this twa or thre yeirs bygane) with your Lordship; and haveing gotten some surmises off my lait discoverie of ther designes hath enraged michtilie all of them, bot I cair for no Lord bot the Lord of Hoastes, and to be a courteour with him is my maine designe. Hee is wonderfull in counsil and excellent in working, and shal heartilie wish and pray your Lordship may be directed by him wha turneth the counsil of the nations to nought; he is the Lord of armies and God of battells, wha can give victorie to feu as weel as to many. As to my sonne, I hoope he shalbe able to give satisfaction to your Lordship for his demenour. It is against his honnour and myne both to be a page to Lords that knows not how to manage bussnes, far les to give counsil to uthers. I can assur your Lordship that the great Lord wha overruleth all hes a work on the wheels, and shal wish earnestlie your Lordship may have a hand in that part of it that shall tend to his glorie and the setlement of relligion in puritie and peace within thir thrie nations. According to your principle and cause of undertaking, togithir with the end befor your Lordship's eyes, so shall your Lordship be blissed of him who is onlie able to blisse with success all right hearted men. And to his direction and counsil I

[1] Phillips MSS. in the Advocates' Library.

[2] Fife. See *A letter from the noblemen, gentlemen, justices, and freeholders of the Shire of Fife to the Lord General Monck*, with Monck's answer, dated December 14, printed as a broadside. Bruce is apparently excusing himself for not signing this address.

recommend your Lordship and the ordering of your ways, and remaynes

Your Lordships trulie affectionat most humble servant,

AN. BRUCE.

Erlishall, 17 10bris,
1659.

My Lord, much of God will appeir in imployeing of Godle honest men for keiping the peace in shyres; if utherwayes it will reflect much on your Lordshypp, and dishearten all Godlie and gud people, whose prayers may be better then ane armie.

Colonel Hughes to General Monck[1]

Right Honourable,

The inclosed doeth make intimation of the escape of the Lord Kenmore out of Edinburgh Castle. I could not but signifie the same unto your Lordshippe with much recreete. I have consulted with Major Symmervill what course to take in it; his advice is that your Lordshippe wold be pleased to write to James Creighton, Sherriffe of Nidesdale, for to improve his interrest for takeinge of him; he can doe it if your Lordshipp can engage him. I thinke if yow wold be pleased to put a prise uppon him for such as shall take or give intelligence of him, it will be of a greate concernment in order to his takeinge; it is that that must doe it or noe thinge. I doe perseiue by Symerell that Chauncellor Louden is playeinge reakes in that part of that Countrey, and one Lieutenant Brody the like in Morrowland and Nerne. Some thinge must be done tymely in this to prevent forther daunger. Noe more att present but that I am, my Lord,

Your Lordshipps most humble servant,

THO: HUGHES.

The Brandenburger and Hollander landed men in Schooneland, where they killed and tooke 3,000 of the Sweedes; this is con-

[1] Phillips MSS. in the Advocates' Library.

firmed by severall skippers and passengers that came from Holand lately and came to this harbor:

Some others report that Dunkirk is surrendered unto the Spaniard, whoe tooke the benefitt of a mutiny amongest the soldiers therein, and marched a considerable Army against them.

Citadell, the 18th December, 1659.

I have written to Tompson, Towne Clearke, and Dean and guild of Edinburgh to improve theire interrest therein.

General Monck to some Ministers

Gentlemen, xxxii. f. 169.

The officers of the army heere are desireouse that yow would bee pleased to come over to Coldstreame, and prepare your selves to assist in carring on the worke of a fast and day of Humiliation, to seeke the blessing and direction and blessing of God uppon our Councells and forces. Wee are forced to begg this favour from yow, to helpe these Gentlemen our Ministers who are with us, they haveing constant and daily duty, and theire number being small and in an unsetled and discomposed condition, and therein yow will very much oblige mee, who am

Your humble servant and assured friend,

[GEORGE MONCK].

Coldstreame, 19th December.

The day wee have thought upon is Wednesday next.

Officers at Coldstream to Sir Arthur Heselrige and others

Right Honourable, lii. f. 41.

Itt is not unknowne to yow that since the late force uppon the Parliament wee have put ourselves uppon our duty as Englishmen and faithfull souldjiers for the preservation of the freedome and

priviledges of the Parliament, since which tyme there hath bin a Treaty betweene us and the authors of that force to prevent (if possible) the effusion of Christian bloud, and that not comeing to the desired effect there hath still bin a continued overture and endeavoure to bring the matter to a happy composure; but having received intelligence that your Honoures are now in Portsmouth, where yow have declared for the same cause with us, and that yow act as Commissioners by the Act of Parliament beareing date the eleaventh of October last, wee finde ourselves disinabled to treate any farther uppon our owne single accompt. We have therefore sent this Gentleman to your Honours to receive your comands in this businesse, assureing yow that it is our earnest desire that things might bee composed in an amicable way, and that the Common Enimy might not reape the benefitt of our contentions. And in this wee doubt not but wee shall have your Honour's complyance, and shalbee speedily furnished from yow with such directions and instructions as may sufficiently inable us for that worke. Wee remaine

Your very humble servants,
CHARLES FAIRFAX.
THO: READE.
L. LYTCOTT.
JOHN CLOBERY.
R. KNIGHT.

Coldstreame,
19th December, 1659.

For the Right Honourable Col. Sir Arthur Heslerige, Col. Herbert Morley, Col. Valentine Walton, Commissioners of Parliament for the Army, these att Portsmouth.

The Officers at Coldstream to the Officers at Newcastle

lii. f. 42b. Deare Brethren and Fellow Souldjers,

That there may bee noe occasion of misunderstanding betweene yow and us, wee have thought itt our duty to acquaint yow that wee have lately received intelligence that the Guarrison of Ports-

mouth hath declared for the Parliament, and hath received into the towne three of the commissioners appointed by the Act of Parliament of the eleaventh of October last for the goverment of the army, who are now acting there by that commission, and that wee doe thereuppon hold ourselves incapacited to come to any conclusive agreement without authority and directions from them. Yett wee doe assure yow that our intentions and desires for peace are still the same, and therefore, as the most speedy and effectuall way that wee can think off for removeing this obstruction, wee have sent this gentleman, Major Bannister, to the Lord Lambert, and doe desire that by his Lordshipp's permission hee may goe to Portsmouth to the commissioners, to acquaint them with our desires, and to receive from them theire commands and instructions in this case, which wee doubt not but will bee such as shall give satisfaction both to yow and us. Our desire to yow is that yow would bee noe hinderance in this businesse, but that yow would consider that as wee are in honnoure obliged not to desert those who have declared for the same thing with us, soe wee are in duty bound to aske the consent of our superiors before wee conclude uppon any thing wherein they are soe neerely concerned, and that neither yow nor wee can in reason expect that any agreement made betweene us can put a finall period to these unhappy differences while any interrested party is left out. And further that yow would intreprett this ingenuity and plainesse of ours not as any designe to frustrate or to delay that happy composure which wee allsoe earnestly long for, but rather as an argument of our greate zeale to bring it perfectly to passe, and our desire to begett in yow such a confidence of us as soe much candor and clearenesse may justly expect, which as wee can noe waise doubt from yow to whome wee have bin soe long and soe well knowne, soe wee know noe better way to bring us againe to that antient and entyre love and frendshipp which none but they that are enimyes both to yow and us endeavoure to destroy.

To what hath bin said wee have this onely to add, soe that if

you reject this overture of ours the bloud that shalbee shedd in this contraversie will rest on yow and yours, and wee shalbee justified in the sight of God, our owne consciencies, and the judgements of all good men that wee have endeavoured for peace to the utmost of our power, and herewith wee comend yow to God for the direction of his spiritt, and remaine

Your affectionate brethren and servants,

Coldstreame, 19th December, 1659.

For our very loveing friends, the Officers of the Army at New-Castle

Rt. Winter.	L. Lytcott.
Nat. Eldred.	John Clobery.
John Page.	R. Knight.
J. Carrington.	Jere. Smith.
Robt. Lytcott.	Joseph Witter.
Anthony Belcham.	James Mutlow.
Hen. Ogle.	Ed. Freer.
Tho. Symnell.	Tho. Johnson.
P. Bannister.	T. Mansfeild.
Antho. Nowers.	John Miller.
C. Fairfax.	Peter Wilmott.
Tho. Reade.	

Newsletter

xxxii. f. 190. *December* 20, 1659.—Thursday last Major Crooke's troope, quarter'd in Sarum, declared for the restoration of the last Parliament, and last night marched to Warneside, where they mett Capt. Hutton's troope and another troope which came from the West, all which the next day marched to Hurst Castle with an intention (as they said) to goe thence to Portesmouth by water, whence they had orders soe to doe.[1] On Sunday last the Lord Mayor gave notice to the Lord Fleetwood of an intended rising that night in the Citty, wheruppon the souldiers were drawne out in the severall

[1] Unton Croke was major of Colonel Berry's regiment. The declaration published by his troops at their rendezvous at Warminster is printed in *Mercurius Politicus*, December 29–January 5, p. 996. On Croke, see Ludlow, ii. 170; Sir A. Croke's *Genealogical History of the Family of Croke*, i. 525–48.

parts therof, and uppon search found many armes both for horse and foote, and severall Gentlemen of the Inns of Court ready to lead the tumult, all which were secured by the souldiers.[1] This day was observed a day of Humiliation in Westminster, Covent Garden, and the Strand, by the joynt consent of the inhabitants therin. Mr. Scott and Mr. Weaver came Commissioners from the Fleete. Commissioners were appointed to treate with them—Sir Henry Vane and Major Salway. They have been debating uppon a free Parliament excepting only Cavaleers, that [which sat] in 1648, and that which satt last; one of them will bee concluded on this night. About 60 foote marching this evening towards Jameses laid downe their armes till they bee satisfied for what and whome they engage.

G. M.

London,
20 December, 1659.

Sir James Stewart to General Monck[2]

May it pleis your Lordship,

Be my former I hoped to haif given your Lordship satisfactioun as to the wnwarrantablenes of that informatioun of my receiving a lettre from my Lord Lambert be Major Cambridge;[3] bot finding by the report of the commissioners of this towne, who wer with your Lordship, that thair remaines some dout and wnsatisfactioun with your Lordship as to that particular, I conceive my self obleiged in deutie, both as to your Lordship's satisfactioun and cleiring of my awin innocencie, again to assure your Lordship that I never resavit any lettre from the Lord Lambert, nor ever so much as spoke with Major Cambridge, and if your Lordship may be pleised to be at the paines to tak some tryall in it, I sould esteim it as the hichest favour. I can be capble of being confident that the issue wilbe

[1] See Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 174.

[2] Phillips MSS. in the Advocates' Library.

[3] A letter from Warriston to Sir James Stewart, dated December 10, is printed in the *Report on Mr. Leyborne-Popham's MSS.*, p. 132. Perhaps this was the letter sent by Major Cambridge.

the cleiring of the treuth and a just vindicatioun of the integritie of him who is,

My Lord,

Your Lordships most faithfull and humble servant,

Edr., 22 Decr., 1659. JA. STEWART.

General Monck to Mr. Samuel Hammond

xxxii. f. 167b. Sir,

I have received yours of the 17th instant, together with one inclosed from some Honourable and Reverend members of the gathered Churches in London, to which I have sent an answer inclosed herein, which I desire yow, as soone as yow may conveniently, to send to them. Yow may assure those gentlemen that I doe accompt my selfe highly obliged by theire civilitye, and that I shall omitt noe opportunity that I may at any time have to acknowledge it.

What kinde of thing is meant where yow are by a Parliament I know not, nor what by a Senate chosen by the people; they have not as yet bin pleased to acquaint mee soe farr with theire moddell, but I should think, as things now stand, the surest and spediest remedy for all inconveniencyes would bee to lett the present Parliament sitt downe againe quietly, the calling and moddelling another being likelier to take upp a longer debate then may stand either with theire or our safety. I have noe more at present, but that I am

Your very loving friend and servant,

Coldstreame, 22 December, 1659. G. M.

General Monck to the Congregated Churches

xxxii. f. 71b. Honourable and Reverend friends,

I received yours of the 13th instant, and doe assure yow that my intention and indeavours for the good old cause and the good people of the Nations is still the same as it was when those honourable and reverent persons from yow were with mee, and I could have wished

yow had thereby furnished mee with some likelier and readier expedient for accomplishing those desires of mine then that I am now useing; but I must frely confes to yow that I am not soe fully satisfied with the intentions of those whome you call the army in England as yow seeme to bee, nor can I thinke that I have the same apprehencions which you have of that new state of the quarrell in your parts, or of the danger the good people are now in from the Common Enimy. Would they, if they thought the people of God were in soe greate danger, and that a few dayes continuance in these breaches might make that danger past remedy—would they, I say, think now at last of calling a new Parliament, the verry calling and chuseing of whose Members would take up some weekes tyme, though there were noe limitations nor restriccions to bee agreed uppon, or though there were noe necessity for us to interpose as yow desire for the preservation of the good people? Or would they keepe this designe of theires soe secrett that wee should heare of it from you onely, and not from themselves, least, perhaps, our consent might [not] bee soe soone gained? Or would they not rather support the present Parliament to sitt downe againe quietly, which might bee done in few dayes tyme, and would ymediately putt an end to all these unhappy controversies, and make that posture of ours, which yow now think gives advantage and incurragement to the Common Enimy, a posture formidable to them, and most convenient to oppose them? What coloures may bee made use of to lay the bloud that may bee spilt in this quarrell at my doore I know not, but this I know, that God who judgeth righteously, and whome noe colloures or pretences can deceive, will in his tyme beare witnesse to the innocency and uprightnes of my heart; and I am confident it cannot bee unknowne to you, nor to the greatest part of the people of the Nations, that the late force uppon the Parliament was the begining and cause of these contentions, and that it was done to preserve in theire imployments a small number of officers, not more considerable or better deserveing of the common cause then the like number of those

whome themselves have since laid aside, and that they have to this end espoused the interest of a party with whose designes Magistracy and Ministry can noe more stand then with those of the Common Enimy, and to gratifie them have declared publicquely that they would take away tythes, and have now proceeded soe farr as to open againe that issue of bloud which had for a good tyme (through mercy) bin stop't, and was in a hopefull way to have bin altogether healed. For my part, I can safely say that God and my owne actions will beare mee witnesse how carefull and solicitous I was to bring the last treaty to a perfect close, and all our quarrells to full and speedy composure. I think those honourable and reverend Brethren of yours can remember, uppon the first receipt of the late agreement, though it was such as I could not in honour or justice ratifie, yet being uppon my march, to shew my desire to peace, I ymediately returned to Edinburgh, and drew back my forces out of England, and made an offer to the Lord Lambert that the forces on both sides might bee drawne back according to the tennour of the agreement; which offer of mine his Lordship did not onely not consent too, but while wee thought ourselves heere secure and the treaty still continued, yea, even while Col. Sankey was heere from his Lordshipp with the highest expressions, protestations, and offers of peace, advanced uppon us in such a manner as wee had just cause to think his intentions were otherwise; yet since that tyme I have not bin wanting in any thing that might on my part promote that good end; but understanding that a quorum of the Commissioners for the goverment of the army constituted by an Act of Parliament of the 11th of October last, were now sitting at Portsmouth, I imediatly dispatched a messenger to them to perswade them to an accomodation, and directed letters to the Lord Lambert and the officers at Newcastle to let them know as much, and to desire that they would permitt him to passe. If they should refuse it, I leave it to your selves to judge at whose doore the bloud will lye. They have declared for the same things

that I have, and now they act by their comission are my lawfull superiors, soe that I am not now in a capacytie to make any agreement without theire consent. Gentlemen, I have noe farther to trouble yow, but to presse yow againe to bee perswaded that the cause wee are now contending for is your owne cause, and the cause of all the good people, and that as there was noe occasion given by us at first to the beginning of these unhappy contraversies, soe there shalbee nothing now omitted on our parts that wee think may bee a meanes to bring them to a speedy and a happy period, and to bee earnest with yow to possesse those that have bin the authors and are still the continuers of the force uppon the Parliament with a true and a deepe sence of the dangers and inconveniencyes that are like to follow, in case this debate bee by them continued any longer, and to assist us with your prayers to the throne of grace that all these controversyes may bee ended without the effusion of any more Christian bloud, and that they may produce to the Nations liberty and prosperity, to Parliaments theire just power and authority, and their duty, priviledges, and encurragements to the people of God, which is the utmost of the desires and wishes of

Your very humble servant,

GEO: MONCK.

Coldstreame,
22 Dec. (59).

For my Honourable and Reverend friends, Lieut.-Generall Whalley, M. G. Goffe, and Dr. Jno. Owen, to be communicated to the congregated Churches in London.

Newsletter

December 22, 1659.—Yesterday the Committee of Safety agreed upon a speedy calling of a free Parliament, for which the Citty hath likewise declared, and writs are issuing out for the members thereof. That for the Citty of London this day was sent to the sheriffs, but upon further consideration the same was sent for back xxxii. f. 191.

againe. Col. Riches regiment and 2 troops of Col. Berries are revolted to Portsmouth, where the said 2 troups received order to march into the Isle of Wight. This day the General Councill of Officers met, and so did the Common Councill of the Citty. Exceter received a letter from the Commanders at Portsmouth and another from Vice-Admirall Lawson. Whether the last or a free Parliament should be chosen it is not yet determined by either. Two troups of Col. Packer's regiment this day subscribed the testimony for the last Parliament. The forces are drawne out of Portsmouth, but they are not yet upon their march hither.

G. M.

The Speaker and others to Colonel Lytcott

December 22, 1659.

xxxii. f. 198. Sir,

Wee have thought fitt to give you some information of the Parliamentes affaires in these partes to communicate to your colleagues, least for want of itt you precipitate your selves into inconveniencies. All the foote sent to besiege Portesmouth seized on their officers and carried them prisoners into the Towne, and five troopes of Col. Riches regiment and two of Col. Berrie's are come in to them. Those of Berrie's regiment are commanded by Col. Croke, who was their late Major, and hee is sent to the Isle of Wight, where his forces are increased to 700. And att Taunton and severall other places there is great defection amongst all their forces. And Vice-Admirall Lawson is for the Parliament, with 22 saile of brave shippes att Gravesend and about the Hope stopping uppe the River, and the Blockhouses there have declared for the Parliament.[1] And in Kent Sir Michaell Livesay hath raised two regiments, which putts Fleetwood and the officers heere in soe great a consternation that the [proclamation for a new]

[1] At first the fleet seemed inclined to support Lambert and Fleetwood against Monck and the supporters of the Parliament. A number of the officers of the navy, including Richard Stainer, William Goodson, and other notable men, wrote a letter to Monck, dated November 4, condemning his proceedings, and urging

Parliament they sent but two dayes since is countermanded, and they are this day advising to submitt themselves to the Parliament, or if they doe nott in a few dayes they will bee compell'd to itt. Wee wonder much since your arrivall at Alnewick you have kept noe correspondence with Doctor Clarges or any of the Parliamentes freinds, to have information of their condition heere. Pray lett us heare from you by this bearer, and take what care you can to send the inclosed letter to the Lord Generall Monck, because itt conteines matter of great import to the service of the Parliament, and conclude noe agreement in your present treaty till you have advice from his Lordshippe uppon perusall of the lettre now sent to him. Wee have nothing more butt to commend our kinde respects to you and the worthy Gentlemen your partners, and are

Your very loving freinds,

	WM. LENTHALL.	THO: LISTER.
London, December ye 22nd, 1659.	JOHN WEAVER.	PETER TEMPLE.
	THO: PURY, senr.	WILL' FFYRE [?].
	AN. ASHLEY COOPER.	

For our worthy freind, Colonell Lytcott,
one of the Commissioners for the
Parliament's army in Scotland
Att Alnewick.[1]

him to come to an agreement with the leaders of the English army. This is printed in Whitelocke's *Memorials*, iv. 370. Monck's answer to this letter, but without a date, is No. 14 of Toland's collection of Monck's letters. It is directed to Vice-Admiral Goodson.

Like the army, however, the fleet was divided, and on December 18 Vice-Admiral Lawson and the officers of the fleet in the Downs published a declaration in favour of the restoration of the Long Parliament. It is printed in *Mercurius Politicus* for December 22–29, p. 975. Two letters from Lawson to the City, dated December 18 and 21, are printed in the *Public Intelligencer*, p. 967. Ludlow gives a good account of the revolt of the fleet, and the negotiations which took place between its officers and the representatives of the army (*Memoirs*, ii. pp. 176, 180). There is also a contemporary *Narrative of the Proceedings of the Fleet* contained in a letter from M. H. (*i.e.* Captain Mark Harrison of the 'Elias'), which is reprinted in Penn's *Memorials of Sir William Penn*, ii. 186.

[1] The letter from Lenthall to Monck, said to be enclosed, is not amongst the

General Monck to Major-General Lambert

iii. f. 41b. My Lord,

By your Lordshipps of the 15th instant I understand with what conditions your Lordshipp thinkes it convenient to treate; but your Lordshipp may please to take notice that in my last I propounded this, as that without which wee could not engage farther in treaty, vizt. that your Lordshipp would remand all those forces that yow had caused to advance into Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmerland dureing that tyme wee thought ourselves secure against any such action by the overtures of a farther Treaty; and since I cannot perceive by your Lordshipp that yow have done it, or ingage to doe as it was by mee desired, I cannot hold my selfe obliged to proceed to treate, and the rather because late intelligence informes mee that some of your regiments are since my last letter to your Lordshipp advanc't to Rodburrow. There is alsoe, My Lord, another greate obstruction to soe speedy a Treaty as is desired, which is this: I have beene informed since my last to your Lordshipp that there are three of the Commissioners of Parliament appointed for the Government of the army now in Portsmouth, acting by vertue of the same Commission uppon which I act, and declareing for the same ends that the army of Scotland hath declared. This obliges my selfe and the army with mee in honour and duty to crave theire advice and consent in all affaires that relate to the cause wee are ingaged in, and this I know your Lordshipp cannot but judge not onely reasonable but alsoe necessary to such a composure of this unhappy difference as is desired. I have therefore sent this Messenger to your Lordshipp, to whome I have alsoe given direction to goe to Portsmouth under your Lordshipp's safe conduct, and there to acquaint the Commissioners of the army with all such overtures as have past betweene your Lordshipp and me;

Clarke MSS. Monck's answer to it, dated 'Coldstream, Dec. 29,' is printed in the *Old Parliamentary History*, xxii. 39, and is No. 15 in Toland's collection.

and if your Lordshipp shall afford him a safe conduct thither, I shall at his returne bee ready to proceede to treate with your Lordshipp uppon such instructions as I shall receive from them, without whose concurrance in this good worke of makeing peace both my selfe and the army with mee are disabled to come to a finall conclusion with yow; and I must intreate this favoure from your Lordshipp that yow would not interpret this as a designe of mine to delay that Agreement which I heartily wish weere finished betwixt us, but as a reasonable prevention of such hazards as otherwise wee must of necessity runn into for want of theire concurrance in this worke, who are equally if not more highly interested in it with ourselves. I shall desire your Lordshipp's speedy answer touching this overture, and remaine

Your Lordshipp's very humble servant,

GEORGE MONCK.

Coldstreame,
24th December, 1659.

For the Right Honourable the
Lord Lambert. These
Att New Castle.

Newsletters

London, December 24.—The world is changed in these partes. xxxii. f. 295. The Leaguer before Portesmouth is raised, and all the souldiers there falne in with Sir Arthur, &c., who will bee in London to-morrow night. All the forces heere, except some officers (that are gone afilde) declared this day for the Parliament, and randez-vouz'd in Lincolne's Inne Feilds, and from thence march't regiment by regiment to the old Speakers att the Rolls, whome they owned as their Generall, and receive commands from him till Sir Arthur and the rest of the Commissioners come to Towne; for the present Cols. Okey and Markham command under the Speaker. The fleete is unanimous for the Parliament. Itt's said that Col. Desbrow, Col. Berry, with other discontented officers, joyne with the Parliament.

xxxii. f. 205b. *London, December* 24.—Wee are neere an end of our troubles; all parts are uppe for the Parliament, and that Sir Arthur Haslerigge has 3000 horse and foote att Portesmouth, and this day hath produced a totall declaring for the Parliament of all the forces in London and the Tower, and all places heere are now att their devotion, and Fleetwood sent to the Speaker yester-night that the Lord had blasted them and spitt in their faces, and witnessed against their perfidiousnesse, and that hee was freely willing to lie att their mercy. Col. Okey and Col. Markham have a commission from the Speaker and severall Members to command all the horse of the army in London, and Col. Alured and Col. Mosse the foote; and the Parliament doores were open'd, and the Speaker and severall Members have mett and writt lettres to all their Members to give their attendance, soe that next weeke the Parliament will sitt. Disbrow and Fleetwood, Berry, Ashfield, and all that have acted under them are in a mourning condition. They thinke itt in vaine to fly, butt some must bee made examples. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Scott, Mr. Weaver, Sir Ant. Ashley Cooper, Mr. Josiah Berners, and many more to [*cypher*].

Lawson is still with his fleete at Gravesend, and all unanimous for the Parliament.

Major Davison to General Monck[1]

My Lord,

Beeinge returned to my family at Leith, wher I purpose to remaine, the least I could doe is to returne your Lordship thancks for your greate seuilitys and respects to mee, and hope your Lordship will still retaine the same thouts of mee as formerly, and not sufer your chaist ears to bee infected but upon good grownds, for I can not but expect enimys, yet my owne inocency with that fathfullnes I ow, and shall by Gods blesing continue to your Lordship and those good things yow have declared for, will yeeld mee pease; your and the Comonwelths enemys complyance with

[1] Phillips MSS. in the Advocates' Library.

your proposalls may bee such, or there incolencyes soe great, that may again bring mee under your comaund, in which I shall as ever study to aproue my selfe.

Your Lordship's most humble saruant,

DAN. DAVISON.[1]

Leith, the 20th Decbr. 1659.

General Monck to the Inhabitants of Northumberland [2]

Sir, xxxii. f. 192.

Having uppon the interruption of the Parliament of England borne my testimony against that illegall and violent action of some [members] of the army, whereby our religion, the libertyes and rights of our Nation, and consequently the future welfaire and freedome of our posterityes is soe greately indangered; and being through the gratious assistance of Almighty God resolved (according to the trust and confidence reposed in mee by the Parliament) to stand in defence of your and our native rights whilst the Lord shall vouchsafe us life and strength, and understanding that a party of those who have bin the destroyers of your libertyes, and whose designe itt is to subject yow to them under soe heavy a bondage as yow and your predecessors were never yett acquainted with, which are drawing theire forces into your Country in order to theire intended opposition of the forces under my command, your countrymen and asserters of your libertyes, I have thought it my duty to warne and require yow, as yow are freinds to your selves and posterityes, that yow afford none that are ingaged against the Parliament of England any assistance in money, horses, armes, or provisions of any sort whatsoever, least yow involve yourselves in there guilt,

[1] Major Davison died in prison at York in 1665, having been arrested on suspicion of plotting against the government of Charles II. (*Memoirs of Sir Henry Slingsby and Captain John Hodgson*, ed. 1806, p. 196.) He was major of the foot regiment of Colonel Charles Fairfax.

[2] The address given is purely conjectural.

and purchase perpetuall slavery to your selves and these Nations; but that yow would, as good Christians and true English men, oppose them in all theire unjust and unlawfull enterprizes, and give us such incurragement as in reason wee may expect from you, for whose sakes wee are ready to lay downe our lives as soone as God shall call us thereunto. And this, I hope, will have a deepe impression on your spirritts, and cause you to appeare for God and your Country in this day of tryall. To which I have nothing to add but that I am

Your very affectionate friend and servant,

G. M.

Coldstreame, 26 December, '59.

I desire you to acquaint the Gentlemen and other inhabitants in your parts with this, and lett mee have a returne what you doe in it.

The Speaker to General Monck

xxxii. f. 204b. Sir,

The Parliament hath comanded mee to let yow know that yesterday they began to sitt againe in theire Howse, the happines whereof (for such they hope the Lord will please to make it to this Comonwealth) must bee attributed to the most seasonable appeareance of your fidelity, care, and courage.

I doe therefore heereby returne unto your selfe in the first place, and withall to the noble officers and whole souldjery now standing by yow and by theire duty, the hearty thankes of the Parliament, which they desire yow to accept untill a farther oppertunitye shall shew it selfe for a more reall acknowledgement. Sir, this being all I have in charge, I remain

Your assured loving friend,

Wm Lenthall, Speaker.

Westminster, 27th of December, 1659.

The Speaker to General Monck

Honorable Sir, xxxii. f. 204

It haveing pleased God to order the affaires of these parts soe that the Parliament with freedome sat againe in theire Howse yesterday in the afternoone, they have commanded mee this day to give an account thereof to you, and to acknowledge with thankefullnes your greate faithfullnesse and courage, which under God hath been the first and principall meanes of this theire Restauracion. They have likewise sent expresses with orders to the severall regiments of horse and foote in the Northerne Countyes to returne to theire former respective quarters, according to such directions as they shall receive from Commissioners of Parliament authorized for that purpose, which directions are alsoe sent unto them. I have noe more at present, but to assure you that

I am

Your most assured loving friend,

W^m. LENTHALL, Speaker.

Westminster,
27 December, '59.

Sir Andrew Bruce to General Monck [1]

My Lord,

This last Thursday wee wer desyred to meit at Couper by a Letter from Durie for subscryveing that letter which he and some uthers had caused drau up, as if the gentilmen in this Shyre had being meer dolts. It wes a mater of astonishment to me that ane at whois being elected Comissioner the last yeir by Rothes mediation your Lordship sould now give him such ane pouer. I wes of lait desyred by your Lordship to discover the practises of malignants, and now they to be the men on whom your Lordship doeth repoise and mainlie trust may seme mor strange to me then others. It wast once your Lordships honour—yea, I may[say] did put

[1] Phillips MSS. in the Advocates' Library.

you in credit both with God and gud men, the awninge and favouring of gudmen when oppressed by the malignant partie. I have a charitable construction, lyk as wes the discoverie of the preists of Baull, so your Lordship hath done all this to mak a full discoverie of the malignant partie in Scotland, which may be discerned in Fyiffe by our Comissioner, wha is a heart hattir off godlie men and godlines, a persecutor of his awne minister, on of the most precious men in the ministrie in Scotland, faithfull to his maister, opposeing the course of defection and all wicked wayes.

The certificat of our notable Comissioners letter is no les then to be estemed dissafected to the present engadgement. They are dissafected to [the] work of God, but not wee, and, haveing the oath of God upon us by our Covenant, cannot join in association with the malignant partie, such as they ar and so known to be by your Lordship, and wee will by Gods grace keip the peace inviolat. What they have done is notourlie known, and wee will awne your Lordship quarrell in so far as it tends to the advancement of Gods interest, in so far as it is for relligion and propagation of the Gospell. Upon any uther accompt wee have denyed to espouse the interest of kings; mor than this your Lordship cannot expect nor desyr. I shall not trouble what I have told your Lordship of malignants, bot shall remayne

Your Lordship's true, affectionat, humble servant,

AN. BRUCE.

27 10bris, 1659.

General Monck to Major-General Lambert [1]

lii. f. 45.

My Lord,

Understanding that Capt. Dirdoe and Capt. Waller are now at New Castle, and both desireouse to bee with mee, I desire your Lordshipp will bee pleased to permitt them to come to mee. I have granted the same liberty to all those that were heere and

[1] Undated; written probably about December 27.

had a desire to come to you. There is alsoe, as I am informed, one Clifford of my regiment of horse prisoner in Tinmouth Castle, upon your Lordshipp's detayner and being imployed with some letters for England; I have some in custody upon the like accompt, and your Lordshipp shall command any one of them for him. This I hope your Lordshipp will bee pleased to consent unto, in as much as it cannot bee any satisfaction to yow or mee to keepe any of our country men prisoners, whilst it hath yet pleased God to keepe us from open hostility, which I hope hee will yet in mercy doe, and bring us to a right understanding of each other. My Lord, I shall add noe more but that I am

Your Lordshipp's [very humble servant,

GEORGE MONCK.]

General Monck to Sir Hardress Waller [?]

Sir, lii. f. 44.

I must confesse uppon receipt of the former letter from Ireland, under which I found your hand subscribed, I was a little troubled that there should bee any to whome the interest of the Commonwealth should bee soe much in the darke as that they should not bee able to discerne how much the late force putt uppon the Parliament was destructive to itt, and I was fearefull least by some unworthines of mine I might have occasioned in my good friends there (of whome I recon your selfe alwaise the cheifest) some strange misapprehention and distrust of my sinceere intentions and cleare and upright actions; yet I was resolved that noe discurragement should make my heart faint or slacken my hand from upholding and promoteing to the utmost of my power that good cause for which wee had alwaise contended, and it hath pleased God soe farr to prosper my weake endeavoures that a good progresse is now made in restoreing the Parliament, and the people begin now to bee very sensible where theire interest lies. I hope this noble act of yours, and of the officers with yow, may bee a meanes fully and speedily to putt an

end to this businesse, and that, according to your and my desire, without bloud; for though my continued desires and endeavoures for peace have hitherto found little successe with the authors of the late force, either because of the strong confidence they had of carryeing on and accomplishing theire designes, or else of the concenciousnesse of theire demerritts, which might make them fearefull to trust any more that Parliament which they had in soe high a measure provoked, yet I have good reason to beleeve that either the reputation of your assistance will strongly induce them to heare reason, or the example of your souldjers may move those that are with them to attempt something like it; and to the end that this might be the more effectuated I make it my request to yow to send us over into Scotland what assistance yow can, and that with all convenient speede. One regiment of Horse, I think, would bee sufficient, and soe many I conceive yow may weell spare out of those yow have, in regard it will bee easily for yow to raise soe many new ones for the defence of the Country, and not chargeable, because those yow shall send to us shall enter into pay heere as soone as they come to us.[1] The gentleman yow sent hither will bee able to give you a particular accompt of our condition, and informe yow how little ground there is for any to feare that either the Scotts or Cavaleers should gaine any advantage by our late transactions; to him therefore I referr yow for a farther accompt, and that in regard to the desire I have to dispatche him as speedily as may bee. I shall trouble yow noe farther at present, but with my thankes for the good oppinion yow retaine of mee, and with a reall expression that I am

Your faithfull friend and humble servant,

GEORGE MONCK.

Coldstreame, 28 of Dec., 1659.

[1] According to Gumble six troops under Colonel Theophilus Jones were accordingly drawn down into Ulster for embarkation, but not actually sent. Campbell arrived soon after Monck reached Coldstream (on his mission, see Gumble, p. 182; Baker, p. 699). Monck also sent Sir Joseph Douglas to engage Sir Charles Coote to declare for a free Parliament (Price, p. 751), and about the same time Captain

Wee expect that the Parliaments friends in London will rise every day. They will not suffer a souldjer to come into the Citty, and severall other places will declare, soe I hope that our busines wilbee carried with out bloud shed. The Lord Lambert's army are in greate destractions, and hee cannot advance towards us for feare of the mutinies of his souldjers. This honnest gentleman, Captaine Campbell, stuck to mee in Ireland when most of the forces left mee, and I shall intreate your favoure and incurragement to him.

General Monck to the Council of Officers in Ireland

Gentlemen, liii. f. 45b.

Having received the private instructions of Capt. Campbell and therein your desires for my opinion and direction, though I am very unwilling to interpose, haveing not competent or sufficient authority, yet at such a tyme of publique necessitie and danger I have thought it my duty to send yow this answer under my hand:—

1. That yow appoint a Committee of three persons, the most eminent and faithfull, and that they in this urgent necessity doe agree uppon and constitute such fitt persons as are able and honnest, and to order them to such commands as shall bee necessary to bee supplyed, and appoint the Commissary to muster them till the Commissioners for the Goverment of the army shall order otherwise, or the Parliaments pleasure bee therein knowne; and this [is] my opinion and advice for the keepeing upp the discipline of the army there, and prevention of such disorders as may by want thereof bee occasioned.

2. Such of the Commissioners, or other persons who are secured for the safety of the Common wealth, I judge it your

Cuffe was sent by Lord Broghil to Monck (Baker, p. 703). Monck distrusted Waller in spite of his protestations, and let Lord Broghil know it (Warner, *Epistolary Curiosities*, i. 53).

wisdome to continue them in safe custody till released by authority of Parliament; and although they may pretend to joyne with yow, yet you cannot intrust them, being persons that have already given too much evidence of unfaithfullnesse in theire promises and engagements, and this I propound to you as my opinion.

3. As to the Cavaleers or Anabaptists that are in the army or Nation, itts my sense that none of them bee trusted with any forts or strong holds, nor that any bee continued in the army but such as are zealous for the Parliament, and have witnessed against that late violence put uppon the Parliament, and [are] otherwise free from sedition and faction.

General Monck to the Officers of the Irish Brigade

liii. f. 46. Worthy Gentlemen,

The inclosed I received from the Councill of Officers in Ireland with theire Declaration, whereof I suppose yow have alsoe a coppie heere sent yow.[1] Thereby yow may perceive that God hath stirred upp theire hearts to owne the interests of theire religion, lawes, and libertyes, soe often and soe solemnly engaged for, and wherein, through the avarice and ambition of evill men, wee have hitherto mett with soe sad disappointments. The Lord, that hath the hearts of all men in his hands, and disposes them according to his wise Councells, set home uppon your hearts a lively sence of that duty yow owe to your religion, to your Country, and to your posterityes in this day of tryall. However the Lord shall deale with mee and the army under my command in my just undertakeings, this yow may bee assured, that unles yow joyne with mee in defence of the Parliament, though yow should conquer this army, yet yow must bee necessitated to feight once more for your interests in Ireland. If yow shall therefore from a true sence of your duty to God and your country come and joyne with mee, yow shalbee heartily welcome, and markes of

[1] See Monck's letter to Lenthall of December 29.

honoure putt uppon you, and all your interests in Ireland secured. I leave this to your seriouse consideration, and desire the Lord to guide yow in to the way of truith, which is and shalbee the daily prayer of

Yours,

[GEORGE MONCK].

Couldstreame, 28th Dec., 1659.

To Major Godfrey, to bee communicated to the rest of the Officers of the Irish Brigade in England.

Colonel Hughes to Lieutenant-Colonel Monck[1]

My Lord,

I have herein closed sent a little booke which was found lying at Capt. Newmans dooro the last night, with the portrature of a sentrye made of wood standing by it. It was brought to me about eleven of the clock in the night; upon receipt wherof I did imediatly make dilligent serch for more of them through the whole quarters, as alsoe for the finding out who had left it there; upon which with some difficulty I at last found out that my Lieut.-Colonell[2] his wife had been the contrivear of it, and that hir maid had laid the booke as aforesaid. It should seeme that upon my reeding of the late paper intitled 'The Souldiers of Scotlands information of their bretheren of England' at the maine guard amongest the souldiers, my Lieut.-Colonell, being there, desired to communicate it to his wife, and it touching the Anabaptists soe neerly, it moved hir to that action. Since which I have ordered dilligent serch to be made for the finding out of presses, if any be in Edinburgh except what Mr. Higgins hath, and upon finding any to secure them and all destructive papers, and to take security of the owners that they shall not in the future print any thing prejudicall to the parliament. I have secured some few armes found in Mr. Welch and one Henry Clarkes howse,

[1] Phillips MSS. in the Advocates' Library. [2] Robert Rede.

untill your pleaseur be knowen what shall be done with them. I have sent 2 smale bundles of the printed informacons by the post, and a great bundle to Barwick by sea, from thence to be sent to the head quarters. I this day secured one Mayer, who was formerly a waiter,[1] and now inlisted a horseman in some troupe in England. He hath resided here this 3 moneths, and was reported to be a suspicious person, upon which I ordered him to give security for his peaceable demeanour; but, finding that he could not, I desired him to signe an ingadgement to act noe thing to the prejudice of the parliament or Commonwealth, the which he refused; all which I humbly certifie, with my desire to know your pleaseur concerning him, which is all at present from your devoted faithfull servant.

Leith Citydell, the 31 of October, 1659.
Posted to the other side.

There is a Letter lately come from Mr. Welch to his wife, wherin he saith, 'Who would have thought it would have come to this?' and doth seeme to condole their hard estate; and that he hath not a probabillity of seing hir as yett, though he earnestly desires it, but feares that if he should come he should be imprissoned; but bids hir bee of good comfort, and spare neither gold nor silver that may comfort hir. This day I received a Letter from your Lordship by the hands of Mr. Tomson of Edinburgh, intemating that I should forbare quartering souldiers on the vacant stipends of Heriotts Hospitall. I never ordered any to be quartered thereon, nor was desired soe to doe by any body, neither were any that ever I heard of quartered on that accompt, which is all at present from

Your Lordships devoted faithfull
servant,

Dated ut ante. THO: HUGHES.

[1] A tide-waiter, employed in the Customs?

Captain Newman to General Monck[1]

May it please your Lordshipp,

I am bold to tender these few lines to your honour, relatting to a buisnesse that happened last night, which I could not in conscience omit, judging it part of my dutty to discouer false frends as well as to oposse open enemies. And truly, my Lord, I should not have taken this boldnesse but that I was soe neerly concerned in it. The occassion, I suppose, arisses from this: I being on the gaurd, I got a paper intitttuled an 'Information of some souldiers in Scotland to those in England,' which I read (as some thought with more then ordnary zeall); but soe it is that affter I had done the Lieutenant Colonel was pleassed to show his dislike, and I did defend it. What was spake by him I have accquainted my Coll. with it, as alsoe seuerall other officers have done the like; but I shall not say more to it, judging it will come better from my superriours. Afterwards he desiered it home: I told him I had many to read it to, and then when that was done he should haue it; soe I read it to severall, and had it read to the souldiers, and after sent it to his house. His wiffe got it, and was, as I heare, in a great raige, and within an hower after ther was found throwne in at my doore a booke printed: Intitteled 'A discourse or conference between a souldier in England and one off Scotland,' of a very ill consequence. My man finds it, and brings it to me to the guard. I looked on the tittle page, and immeadiatly went to my Collonel, who was in bed, and told him we had some trayttors amoung us, for it could be none else, the gatts being shut: the[y] was within the walls, and soe told him that which I have told your Lordshipp, and further said I was confident it came out of the Lieutenant-Colonel [his] house. He risse, and raised a Commission officer of each company, and serched every man in the quarters and one the gaurds; but nothing is found that way. I hope we are all honester, unlesse

[1] Phillips MSS. in the Advocates' Library.

in on or two houses; but as I judged soe it proues, for Mrs. Read hath now confest that she made her maid doe it, to through the booke in. I have given my Collonel it to send your Lordshipp, that you may judge of it. And indeed but the very morning a souldier goeing to the house with a Scotsman to se him saffe out again (according to our orders), she abused the souldier, and sayd it was a signe that we had a wicked and bad cause in hand, that we durst not trust men to come to them without garding them, and such like language as this in discoraging the souldier. I shall ad noe morr but the tender of my most obeydient seruice to your Lordshipp, and in all humillitie tak leaue to subscrib my selfe,

My Lord,
Your Lordshipps most faithfull and
constant seruant whilst
WILL: NEWMAN.

The last of Decr. 1659, Cittadell, Leith.

My Ld., I cannot but tell your Lordshipp that I feare that Company of his in towne hath to much dealling in these things. I could wish they was in the Army 2 or 3 in a company disperst, and another in the roome of it might seeme needfull to your Lordshipp.

Newsletter

xxxii. f. 209b. *New Castle, December* 31.—Here is come through this towne above forty troopers in a company, rid fast through the towne, gave a great shout when they were through it, and are gone Northward to you; those come from Lambert, and many more expected. The Post is also comed, which brings newes that the Parliament sat on Munday, and divers secluded Members came and demaunded their priviledge to sitt, but was refused, but would debate it the 5th of January. They have voted noe force to be raised but by comand of the Howse, in which vote the Citty acquiesse, and is quiett, soe that all is peace. Above two troopes gott into Winsor Castle and declares for the Parliament, soe doth the Tower.

Declaration intended at Coldstream[1]

If euer anye nation were reduced to a condition so deplorably miserable as did require the most fervent prayers, wisest councells, and valliant hearts to interpose for its deliverance, wee thinke the condition of England is such at this time, beeing through the inconsiderat, violent, and most illegall proceedings of some men, at present voyd, not only of civille authority, but also so distracted and divided within itself that, unlesse it shall please the Lord out of his tender mercy to that remnant of his amongst us to lead us out of that confusion and misery in which by our departures from him wee have involved ourselves, it cannot in all humane probability bee conceived but that suddaine and inevitable destruction will soon overwhelme us, and the good people of these nations bee irrecoverably delivered upp into the hands of such oppressors as are not like to leave them the least shadow of that religion, liberty, and priviledges, which have been the purchasse made by the losse of many lives, and so vast a treasure as wee think never anye nation parted with in defence of theire rights in so little a space of time since the world beganne. That wee might not bee defective in our duty to God, our country, and the precious cause wee have bin for many years engaged in, when all these interests required our most cordiall and vigorous assistance, so soon as wee were informed of the interuption of the parliament, under whose authority all these interests have to so great advantage been sheltered and incouraged for many years, wee put forth a declaration on the of October last, wherein wee did assert the freedome and priviledges of the present parliament, the libertyes and rights of our native country, the protection and priviledge of the people of God, and the government of these nations by a free state and Commonwealth, withall inviting all such as had anye love to theire religion and libertyes to give us theire cheerefull assistance in a worke of so

[1] So described in the endorsement. From the Phillips MSS. in the Advocates' Library.

great concernment to them and theire posterityes. After which declaration of ours the officers of the Army in England, being desirous of a treaty with us, to the end that, if possible, there might bee a right understanding betuixt them and us; wee beeing as desirous rather to attaine our just ends by peaceable and freindly means then by ingaging the nation in an unnecessary warre, were easily induced to condescend to so reasonable a desire, hoping that God would so have inclined the hearts of our brethren to a peaceable and righteous settlement that wee should not have needed anye other weapons then rationall and Christian arguments to have accomplished our just desires by. But after some dayes spent in that worke wee found the temper of the officers of the Army at London to bee such that did exceedingly weaken our hopes of a good issue to that enterprise, they being alltogether averse to consent to anye thing in plaine and direct terms which might secure the rights and libertyes under the authority of parliament of these nations. And if any thing of that kind escaped them, it was in such obscure and ambiguous expressions as could scarcely bee explained but by the longest sword; whereuppon wee thought it convenient to remand our Commissioners, and afterwards some overtures were made of renewing a treaty in which what was obscurely stated in the former might bee explaind, and what was therein defective might bee repaird by the addition of what was necessary to the healing of so great a Breach as theire inconsiderat actions had made betwixt them and us. The affaiers of this nation standing in this posture, intelligence was brought us that three of the Commissioners appointed and authorized for the government of the Army by act of parliament, had possessd themselues of the garrison of Portsmouth, and acted uppon theire Commission, as also that in some other parts of England divers gentlemen had appeard in defence of the Authority of Parliament and of the self same cause in which wee stood engaged; whereuppon, that wee might proceed with all ingenuity and candor with the officers of the Army in England, wee gave them to understand that three of the aforementiond Commis-

sioners of the Army being met at Portsmouth, and acting by authority of Parliament, theire Commission being the warrant of our proceedings and the Authority under which wee act, wee could not come to a finall conclusion touching the present difference with them without theire instructions and consent, to whom wee dispatcht an officer of the Army to know theire pleasure concerning the same. But so little desire did the Lord Lambert and his officers manifest to peace that they suffered not the gentleman whom wee sent to goe beyond Nuecastle, but returned him back to us againe, not giving us the least assurance of anye inclinations in them to an amicable composure of this unhappy difference. Whereuppon wee, looking on ourselves under no ingagements to anye further treaty with them, have thought it our duty once more to declare that wee are resolved, through the gracious assistance of our most blessed God, who (with praise to his name bee it acknowledged) hath both kept our hearts sincere in this worke, and incouraged them (through the great affection borne towards us in these our just undertakings by our countreymen in generall and all the sober spirited of the nation) to prosecut with vigour and faithfulnesse those just ends for which wee have declared, namely: the freedome and priviledge of the parlament of England, and the government of these nations by no other than parlamentary authority, against all usurpers whatsoever; the true reformed Protestant religion against all innovations whatsoever not warranted by the word of God, the maintenance and incouragement of a learned, pious, and orthodoxe ministrye, which may feed the flocke of Christ with wholsome, sound doctrine and instruction, whereby the prophane and ætheisticall spirit which hath so farre overspread these nations may bee subdued, and the truth and power of the Christian religion may take root in the hearts of the people of these nations, and the fruits therof may appeare in righteousnesse and peace. Wee doe allso declare that wee doe not know, or cann bee convinced, of anye other way or means whereby the authority of parlament cann bee preserved, or our libertyes secured, but by the restoration

of the parlament now by violence interrupted, by which all that anye Englishman cann make claime to, if not manifestly taken from him, is endangerd, for as much as no man cann promise to himselve the least security or protection of law in anye of his concerns where the legislative authority of his nation is subjected to violence and contempt. And wee doe therefore disclaime and utterly renounce the pretended authority of anye other assembly or assemblyes of men whatsoever, let them distinguish them selves by what names or titles they please, as having anye authority over these nations, the present parlament being never yet legally dissolved, without which legall dissolution there cann be no other but an arbitrary and usurped authority set upp by anye pretenders whatsoever. And therefore wee doe forwarne all our countrymen and freinds in these three nations that they bee not defrauded by the invaders of theire libertyes in the promise of a parlament, for as much as they have no power to sumon one, or if they had, it cannot bee expected the members thereof should bee permitted either to assemble or sit in freedome. And to make this evident let anye man take but an impartiall vieu of theire behaviour to all parlaments or assemblyes of theire owne setting upp since the first interruption of the only true parlament in the yeere 1653. Was there ever anye number of men by them called parlaments, though of theire owne [calling], yea, chusing and never so exactly squared to theire owne principles, which were ever free from bondage, violence, and contempt, and this poured uppon them by those that gave them being, viz. the present usurpers? Whereby it is most evident to all that will but open theire eyes that it is not this or that parlament that they so much contend against, but parlamentary authority, which while it hath a being in these nations will ever bee irreconcileable to the interests of these and all other ambitious usurpers whatsoever. Heereat, therefore, they bend all theire force, heereat they direct all theire shafts, even at parlamentary power, it. beeing so inconsistent with theire enslaving purposes, that whilst anye thing that bears but the meere name of a pârlament hath a beeing in

these nations theire spirits cannot away with it, as that which will in time necessarily destroy them unlesse they [destroy] it. Let us therefore give all our countrymen this one caution, that they doe not so farre gratifye the designes of theire aduersaryes as to make parlaments theire owne felo de se, which in all liklihood they will doe if they shall submit theire trustees to such qualifications as theire oppressors require, which is the only method hath hitherto been taken for the inslaving of the freest borne people under the sun. Bee therefore incouraged, deare brethren and fellow cittizens, in this, for ought wee know, last opportunity you may ever see wherein your religion, your libertyes, your estats, and whatever is deare to you is redeemable; if you suffer a spirit of bondage and feare now to possesse your hearts you will not only manifest the highest degree of ingratitude and treachery to your freinds that have now appeared for you, but will also betraye your posteritye to the insatiable auarice and ambition of those men whose well meaning towards you and your children you have but too sadly experimented allready.

General Monck to Sir Hardress Waller

Sir, xxxii. f. 212.

Since my last to you by Capt. Campbell [1] itt has pleased God soe to blesse our indeavours that all the forces in the South have submitted to the Parliament, which is now sett downe againe at Westminster, and there are now left none to oppose us butt onely my Lord Lambert's brigade, which lessens daily, some coming away to us, and others to other parties which are uppe for us in severall places in England; soe that itt will nott now bee necessary for you to put your self to the trouble of sending any horse over to us as I did then desire. I intreate you to present my service to all those noble freinds of mine and faithfull servants

[1] Since the letter of December 28, printed on p. 225.

of the Parliament's who have soe evidently appeared for the good cause, and remayne

Your very humble servant,
G. M.

Coldstreame, 1° Jan., 1659.

For the Right Honorable Sir Hardresse Waller and the rest of the Councill of Officers at Dublin.

Movements of General Monck

xii. f. 212b. *January* 2, 1659.—This night my Lord Generall with his owne regiment of horse, and Col. Knight's, his owne of foote, Col. Fairfax's, and Col. Lydcott's, marched from Coldstreame and quarter'd att Wooller and the parts therabouts that night, onely 3 troopes of Col. Knight's regiment, who were gone before towards Morpeth, were order'd with Col. Knight to enter Newcastle, which they did by 6 of the clock next morning; 4 companies of Col. Ashfield's regiment, having bin to demand entrance, were denied.

Col. Reade (who in Major-Generall Morgan's sicknesse commanded the other parte of the army) was to come the next day, and soe follow'd into the same quarters with Major-General Morgan's and Col. Cloberie's of horse, and Major-Generall Morgan's his owne, and Col. Hubblethorne's of foote.

General Monck to the Speaker

6 January, 1659.

xxxii. f. 219b. Right Honorable,

I received both yours of the 27th of December, and doe blesse the Lord that hee hath restored you to your just and lawfull authority, and these Nations to their rights and freedomes; and I knowe that all the officers and souldiers heere doe looke upon itt as a rich mercy, and doubt nott but yow will improve itt to the glory of God and the good and happines of these three Nations.

Before your expresse came to my hands I was advanced into the heart of Northumberland, in pursuance of my duty and trust, to reduce such as would nott obey your comands. And in this I was the more earnest because of intelligence which was certaine that Lambert was marching backe to London to oppose your sitting in freedome and honour, and [I] shall assure Newcastle for your service,[1] and prosecute the Lord Lambert till his party hath laine downe armes. This I have judged necessary because I was assured from them this day that five hundred of Lambert's foote were retorning to garrison itt. Some horse that were raised, and raising in these parts I have suspended till I shall receive your orders therin. I desire to lett yow knowe that in the exigence of your affaires I wrote to the Lord Fairfax to secure Yorke to your service, and hee was very forward to runne any hazards for the freedome of his Country and the priviledges of Parliament, and am informed that severall honest Gentlemen have joined with him who are zealous to venture all that is deare to them for your service, as Captain Lilburne, Major Smythson, Capt. Strangwayes, Coll. Bethell, with many other true Patriotts, and you neede not doubt but they will receive and obey such orders as yow shall direct to them.[2] I shall not trouble yow in representing our necessityes by reason of the stopping our supplyes of money out of England, and therfore humbly desire you to furnish us with a monthes pay speedily, if you can spare us noe more, for the prevention of free quarter, which will bee a disparagement to the Parliament's army, we having nott declined our duty, but cheer-

[1] Monck entered Newcastle on January 5 (Kennet, p. 18), and wrote from thence a letter to the Speaker, dated January 6, and sent by Gumble, which was read in the House on January 12 (*Commons' Journals*, vii. 806; cf. Gumble, 204. 207, pp. 209–220). There is no copy of the letter amongst the *Clarke MSS.*, and it does not appear to have been printed anywhere. But he also sent by Gumble a reply to the letter sent from the Lord Mayor on December 29, which is in print (*Old Parliamentary History*, xxii. 50; Toland, No. xvii.).

[2] On the doings of Fairfax and his occupation of York, see Kennet's *Register*, pp. 6, 13; *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1659–60, p. 295; *Mercurius Politicus*, Jan. 5–12, p. 1011; letter of Fairfax, Cholmley, and Arthington, January 1.

fully putt our lives and estates in hazard for the asserting of your cause and interest. I knowe your wisedome is such that yow will nott discourage such an army as have borne witnes to the justice of your proceedings, and are ready to dye in your cause and disband att your command. I have noe farther but to desire the Lord to helpe you in this your worke, that yow may througly heale the wounds of these distracted Nations, and incourage all that are sober and faithfull in the land. Soe I remaine

Your faithfull and humble servant,

G. M.

Wooller, 2 January, 1659.[1]

The Speaker to General Monck

lii. f. 52b. My Lord,

Yours of the 29th of December last was this day read in the Parliament, in answer of which they returne yow theire hearty thankes, and doe acknowledge your never to bee forgotten faithfull service and high deserveings in this tyme of theire greate extremity, and when this Commonwealth was in hazard. And the Parliament have commanded mee to let yow know that, your haveing first taken care for the safety and preservation of Scotland in your absence, yow are desired as speedily as yow can to come to London to advise concerneing the setling and ordering the forces of this Commonwealth. And they doe referr it to yow to order what forces yow think fitt to march with or after yow, and to order such of the forces which are in the North as yow shall think fitt to goe into Scotland to supply the roome of the forces yow shall order into England. The Parliament hath alsoe appointed Colonell Lidcott, Colonel Sanders, and Major Barton to

[1] There is perhaps a mistake in the date of the above letter. In *Commons' Journals*, vii. 805, a letter from General Monck at Wooller is mentioned as read in the House on January 9, and said to be dated January 8.

bee considered of for imployment according to theire deserveings and your desire. This is all at present from

Your very loveing friend and servant,

WM. LENTHALL, Speaker.

Westminster,
January 7th, 1659.

The Officers in Ireland to the Speaker

Right Honourable, lii. f. 64.

In a former of the seaventh instant was intimated Generall Monck's desire in his letter of the 28th past, for sending him six hundered horse from hence (horse being his cheifest want and the enimies strength). In pursuance whereof (and notwithstanding the obstruction given at present to the Parliaments affaires heere by Lievtennant Generall Ludlowe, for restraineing whome therein a considerable party must bee necessarily attending), yet were those horse accordingly prepared, and that in fowre dayes, soe as they were on theire march towards Scotland under the conduct of Colonell Theophilus Jones (a person of whose good affeccion to the Parliament's service wee have cause to bee well assured of, the same haveing been alsoe [shown] in his eminent actings for yow in the late revolutions heere). But haveing on the tenth instant received other letters from Generall Monck (whereof the inclosed is a copie, it beeing for publicque satisfaction conceived fitt to bee published), and therein findeing that there would bee noe neede of sending any horse to him, considereing the prosperouse successe of your affaires since his former [letter], wherein wee have cause to owne and blesse Him who hath soe eminently owned and blessed yow, there is a stopp now given to that parties further march that way; and wee doe heerein give yow assurance of our readines to advance the Parliament's service elsewhere, or otherwise, with that or greater force as there shalbee occasion, and as wee shall receive the Parliament's commands concerneing itt.

As for Lievtenant Generall Ludlowe, observeing his actings

against the Parliament by a power derived from that the Parliament, and that wee have just cause to beleeve his wayes to bee leadeing to other ends then for the Parliament, for undeceiveing those invited by him to a conjunction with him and others who have declared themselves enimies to the Parliament, with whome hee associates, and by whome and for whome (wee have cause to say itt) hee acts principally, wee have therefore written and published the inclosed letter sent to him from hence on the occasion therein mentioned.[1] And for preventing groweing evills, and that his, the said Lievt. Generall Ludlowe's, proceedings bee not further dangerouse to the Parliament's interest, to the undoeing of what is already done in the defence thereof, it is againe humbly desired that the saide Lievt. Generall Ludlowe bee speedily recalled, and required to answer the charge already sent against him;[2] and as wee have formerly done, soe wee doe and ever shall professe our ready submission to whatsoever the Parliament shall declare concerneing him and us, onely wee humbly offer, whether it may bee for your interests in like occasions for the future, that a person soe obnoxiouse, and on just grounds soe distastefull to this army, and by your servants heere for your cause soe incensed and provoked against themselves, should bee returned (should itt bee indeavoured) to the goverment of this army.[3]

Wee have onely to add the necessity at present of some frigotts on these coasts, the Oxford frigott being ingaged with Lievtennant Generall Ludlowe, and obstructing your service heere. All which wee thought it our dutyes to signifie unto yow, and remain

Your very faithfull and most humble servants,

RICH. STEPHENS. DAN. LYSLE.
HAR. WALLER. ELIAH. GREENE.

[1] Ludlow's *Memoirs*, ed. 1894, ii. 451. [2] *Ib.* ii. 464–471.

[3] Monck's opinion of Ludlow was in agreement with that expressed by the officers. See his letter to the Speaker from Ferrybridge on January 16 (*ib.* ii. 471).

	RICH. LEHUNT.	CHAS. COOTE.
Dublin,	THO. CAULFEILD.	CHIDLEY COOTE.
11th January, 1659.	JA. CAMBE.[1]	MA. FENTON.
	BROGHILL.	EDM. TEMPLE.

Postcript:

This letter is sent by Colonel Temple, a gentleman who hath eminently and faithfully served yow heere, and bin very instrumentall in reduceing this army to the Parliament's obedience, as alsoe very forward in the intended service for Scotland.

General Monck to the Mayor of Hull

Sir, *lii. f. 48.*

Being now come with part of the army under my command as farre as Yorke, and thinking itt very conducible to the service of the Parliament that I fully understand the condicion of their forces and garrisons in these parts, I have sent these Messengers to you, that soe I may receive certaine informacion whether the Towne and Garrison of Hull have yett declared for the Parliament in their present constitution.[2] If I could have obteyned any certaine intelligence in this particuler I had nott given yow the trouble of this letter, which I hope yow will excuse and answer, that soe all grounds of suspicion may be removed, and a good correspondence mainteyned betwixt yow and the rest of the army in the service of the Parliament.—

Sir,

Your very loving freind and servant,

G. M.

Yorke,
12° Jan., 1659.

To Wm. Ramsden, Esq.,
Major of Hull.

[1] ? Sol. Cambie. See Ludlow's *Memoirs*, ii. 455.

[2] Monck reached York on October 11, and stayed there till October 16. In a letter written to the Speaker from York on January 12 he acquaints him with his

General Monck to Colonel Overton

lii. f. 48. Sir,

Being through the good providence of God now att Yorke taking care for the affaires of the Parliament in these parts, and the condicion of the Garrison of Hull being somewhat doubtfully represented to mee, seeing I can yett meete with noe person that can assure mee that yow have yett declared for the Parliament now sitting att Westminster,[1] I have thought itt meete to send these Messengers that soe I might receive satisfaction in that point, and soe all grounds of suspition and jealousie may be prevented, which will nott be avoyded otherwise than by a full and free

arrangements respecting the troops he found at York, and others in the North of England. There is no copy of this amongst the *Clarke MSS.*; but it is printed at length in Grey's *Answer to Neal's History of the Puritans*, vol. iv., Appendix, p. 161. A letter from Lenthall, dated January 7, reached Monck at York, ordering him to come to London. His answer, dated January 16, is printed in the same work (p. 163). See also *Report on the Duke of Portland's MSS.* i. 694.

[1] Overton had been reinstated by the restored Long Parliament, and his imprisonment by the Protector declared unjust (*Commons' Journals*, vii. 688, 738). He was made commander of a regiment of foot, eight companies of which were still in Scotland when Monck declared against the Parliament (*Baker*, pp. 685, 687; *MSS. of Mr. Leyborne-Popham*, pp. 122, 127; *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1659-60, p. 45). Overton and the officers at Hull refused to support the representation and petition of the army, of October 5. Their answer, dated October 11, is printed in Redmayne's *True Narrative*, p. 16, and was now forwarded by Overton to Monck (*Clarke MSS.* xxxii. 46). On October 11, 1659, Parliament appointed Overton one of the seven commissioners for the government of the army and he thus became Monck's colleague. Consequently Monck, when he declared against Fleetwood and Lambert, wrote to Overton for support, at the same time that he wrote to Ludlow (*Clarke MSS.* xxxii. 44; cf. Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ed. 1894, ii. 449). To this Overton seems to have returned no answer, remaining ostentatiously neutral, and criticising the action of both parties to the quarrel. He published, about November 1659, a tract called *The humble and healing Advice of Col. Robert Overton to Charles Lord Fleetwood and General Monk.* Addressing Monck and the Scottish officers, he says, 'I am very much afraid that in this matter you are under a bad influence, though you have a plausible pretence; and although I wish and shall press after a right understanding betwixt you and the army in England, yet in this your undertaking I cannot bid you good speed.'

declaracion of your adherence[1] to the Parliament in their present constitution. In expectation of a satisfactory answer in this particular,

I remaine,

Sir,

Your very loving freind and servant,

G. M.

Yorke, 12 Jan., 1659.

Colonel Overton to General Monck

lii. f. 48a.

Right Honourable,

Yours of the 12th current from Yorke I have received by the hands of my old friend Adjutant Generall Smith, and doe perceive that report renders Hull as doubtfull to yow as it did your designe dangerouse to us and others; but I am very glad to heare that yow adheere to this Parliament in theire present constitution against the readmission of the Secluded Members, a free Parliament, or single person, one of which hath bin continually charged uppon yow as the common crye of your army. For my owne part, however any a[i]gry rumours may have represented mee, yet both my actions and words before and since the Parliaments interruptions have soe sufficiently declared my adherence to them, in opposition to that invasion made uppon them, that for mee to bring upp the reare of verbal testimony by an *ex post facto* Declaration, when I have not concurred with them, or countenanced any thing that hath in the least derogated from theire authority or the trust imposed in mee, is very much below mee, who have ever opposed faithfullnesse to flattery, and indeauoured to bee found in practise rather then profession; but I suppose the Parliament have by this tyme received satisfaction from what I have signified of my continued adherence to them, and besides I have sent upp my Major personally to represent the same to them, and how difficult it was for us to preserve this place by any other procedure then what was

[1] The printed version of this pamphlet reads 'obedience.' *King's Pamphlets*, E. 1018, 21.

our practise heere; wherein as on the one hand I was very carefull to decline any thing which owned the army in theire force, soe on the other (theire interest heere overtopping [1] mee) I was necessitated to walke soe wairily (by some circumstantiall condiscensions to them) that they might not have oppertunity to out mee, which was designed by an intention to secure both mee and my Major. I have inclosed to yow a coppy of that letter I sent to the Generall Councill of Officers, in opposition to theire addresse for Generall Officers, which with my declyneing concurring in any of theire proceeds, [not] subscribeing any of theire papers, refuseing theire commissions, withstanding theire commands, forceing out two companyes (after my owne came from Scotland) commanded by theire creatures, turneing back one of my Lord Lambert's troops which hee sent for the security of this place, and calling in Major Acklam, whome I could better confide in, refuseing to give my approbation to theire writts sent downe for electing of members—are my wittnesses that my workes have not denyed but all along declared for the Parliament, in whose cause I have bin and am as deepely concerned as others, both by active and passive obedience, and shall not cease further to testifie my faithfulnes to them therein according to the tenour of our ingagement. Remaineing, Right Honourable,

Your assured and humble servant,

Hull, 13th January, 1659. RT. OVERTON.

General Monck to Colonel Overton

lii. f. 49b. Sir,

I have received yours of the 13th instant, and am very glad to finde that the misinformations on both sides are cleared; for as yow had bin informed of such things concerneing mee, and as yow mention in your letter, soe had I likewise on the other side [bin informed] that yow were takeing in bedds, and breakeing the ice, and makeing such preparations for defence as weere not necessary

[1] The printed version has 'overleaping.'

now the Parliament's Enimies are all dispersed. It would have much conduced to the preventing of these mistakes if yow had bin pleased to acquaint mee with thus much before, and might have saved mee the laboure of giveing yow this trouble. I know yow will hold itt excuseable in mee not altogether to have slighted the informacions and suspicions of others, when I could receive nothing from your selfe that might perswade mee to the contrary, whenas yow your selfe have given creditt to bare rumers and reports concerneing mee, notwithstanding my many and publique declarations, and three letters directed and delivered to your selfe in perticular; but I hope now since the mistakes on both sides are cleared, and itt appeares that wee are both ingaged in the same interest and contending for the same cause, itt will not bee soe easie for those whose designe itt is to bring in the Common Enimie to begett misapprehensions betweene us, and for my part I doe assure yow I shall bee ready upon all occasions to shew my selfe

Your very humble servant,

GEORGE MONCK.

Yorke,
14th Jan., 1659.

General Monck to the Speaker

Right Honourable, lii. f. 57.

As itt is my duty to give you an account of all the affaires of your army with mee, soe I thinke itt butt prudence to trouble yow with such interruptions in your most weighty businesse as little as possible. I gave you the grounds of our march into England by Mr. Gumble. Itt was in pursuite of Lambert's forces, who had nott then dispersed. Since I have attended your pleasure and waited for your commands, which having received I shall bringe with mee 3 regiments of horse and 4 of foote.[1] I shall nott hasten very

[1] The four regiments of foot numbered about 4,000 men; the three regiments of horse about 1,800: total, 5,800. The regiments of horse were those of Monck

much, because the reare of the Foote are butt this day about Burrowbrigs, and must expect till they come uppe to mee. I dare promise for their faithfulnesse and obedience, having had experience of their courage and fidelity in this late undertaking, they being very chearfull, and ready to hazard for the asserting of your aucthority. I have secured the Northerne Counties the best I could in soe short a stay, and taken care of Scotland, having remanded a regiment of horse and foote thither, which with those that I left will bee sufficient for the present,[1] till others can bee sent to them out of the South whose turne itt is to goe, according to our former custome, which was to change two regiments of horse every yeare. I have putt out some few Captaines of the Militia that had bin zealous opposers of your aucthority, and some who had done yow great disservice, which I doubt nott butt you will approve. I blesse the Lord, I have nothing to seeke more for my self then as a Member of the Commonwealth to see these Nations setled uppon righteous and just foundations. I humbly recommend Mr. Gumble to your favour, who hath merited very much in your service, and I hope you will bee graciouslie pleased to doe somethinge for him.[2] I have noe further to trouble you butt earnestly to desire you to beleive that there is noe man in the

himself, of Knight (late Saunders's), and of Clobery (late Twisleton's). The regiments of foot were those of Monck, Read, Hubblethorn (late Talbot's), and Lydcott (late Cobbett's) (Baker, p. 701; Price, p. 758).

[1] Monck left Colonel Charles Fairfax's regiment at York. He sent back to Scotland Major-General Morgan's regiment of horse and Morgan's regiment of foot (late Daniel's). He also ordered that Colonel Sam Clarke's regiment of foot, one of those which had returned from Flanders in the previous August, should set out for Scotland, but its march was delayed by want of money (Baker, p. 700; Gumble, pp. 188, 221; Grey, *Answer to Neal*, iv., Appendix p. 168; *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1659-60, pp. 121, 322, 353).

[2] On January 12, 1660, the House voted Gumble 100*l.*; on January 26 it recommended him to the Provost and Fellows of Eton for the first Fellowship which should fall vacant (*Commons' Journals*, vii. 808, 823). Two letters from Monck, dated January 21, were read in the House on January 26—probably this letter and that to St. John or Weaver.

Nation that wishes your safetie with more zeale, or shall indeavour itt more vigorouslie then hee who is resolved ever to bee

Your most faithfull and humble servant,

GEORGE MONCK.

Nottingham,
21 Jan., 1659.

For the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esq., Speaker. To bee communicated to the Parliament of England, sitting at Westminster.

General Monck to Chief Justice St. John

My Lord, lii. f. 57b.

I received by Mr. Gumble such assurances of your noble resolution to endeavoure the just setlement of these Nations in a Commonwealth way, with care and provision to avoide those two rocks of the Malignant and fanaticall interests, for which I desire to blesse the Lord and to begg of him increase of his strength and spirritt uppon your selfe and those noble Patriots who have soe chearefully undertaken such an honourable, though difficult, worke. For my selfe I can comfortably declare that nothing but the preservation of the greate interests of God's people in maintenance of ministry and lawe could have drawne out my spiritt to an undertakeing of that nature against many of my old friends of the army. Yow may bee assured (if I can contribute any thing by my indeavors) of my utmost assistance, and [I] shall governe those forces under my command according to your advice and counsell. I shall bring upp three regiments of horse and fowre foote; the rest I have disposed for the security of Scotland and the Northerne parts. I shall make what haste I can, with respect had to the marcheing of the foote, which I must bee tender of, beeing such as have highly resolved for the Parliaments service. I cannot but take notice of your Lordshipp's personall kindenesse to my selfe, and doe assure your Lordshipp that if there bee any thing wherein I can serve you, you shall command mee to the utmost of my power. I shall

trouble yow noe farther but recomend Mr. Gumble to your Lordshipps favoure, and remaine,

My Lord, your Lordshipps very humble servant,

GEORGE MONCK.

Nottingham,
21 January, 1659.

Pray present my humble service to the Lord Widrington and all those other worthy Gentlemen.

General Monck to Mr. John Weaver[1]

lm. f. 58.

Sir,

I have received such a perticular accompt of your publicque resolutions in the Commonwealthes service that as a member thereof I cannot but acknowledge my obligations therein, and desire the Lord to encurrage yow more in this good worke. I am alsoe bound to yow for that greate esteeme yow are pleased to entertaine of my selfe farr above my merritts; I shall endeavoure to answer in my actions this your greate favoure, and what is within my power yow shall assuredly command. I shall make what haste I can, and for the number of men that come with mee it wilbee above five thousand, which if it bee not competent for your safety I can increase it to what degree you shall please. I have done yow what service I could in this march, and invited many sober Gentlemen to joyne with yow in the setling the Commonwealth, whome I finde might bee easily courted to your interest and rendered very faithfull and serviceable. I am sorry

[1] Weaver had, during the usurpation of the government by the army, played a prominent part in the opposition. He took part with Cooper, Berners, and Scot in an unsuccessful attempt to seize the Tower for the Parliament (Thurloe, vii. 797). He helped to secure it on December 24, when the Parliament was restored, and it was committed to the custody of himself and his three colleagues on December 26 (*Mercurius Politicus*, December 22–29, pp. 978, 984). He was one of the Council of State elected on December 31, 1659, and signalised himself in it by his opposition to the proposed oath abjuring Charles Stuart (Baker, p. 700; *Commons' Journals*, vii. 797, 799, 800).

there should bee any jealousie uppon the Lord Fairfax in some mens spiritts, who assured mee in a privat conference that hee would joyne with mee to the opposeing of Charles Stuart's family, soe that I judge a little more moderation might much cement us, and make us fitt for setlement. I shall not trouble yow any further, but intreate yow to remember Mr. Gumble, for whome I hope you will doe something, which is all from

Your assured friend and servant,

GEORGE MONCK.

Nottingham,
21 January, 1659.

My service to Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Colonell White, and Colonell Thompson.

General Monck to the Speaker

Right Honourable, lii. f. 56b.

I have ordered Collonel Redman to march with the Irish Brigade[1] into Cheshire, and theire to expect your further orders; but hee has received orders from the Commissioners to march into Cheshire, Lancashire, and Wales, which was their former Quarters and is very convenient for their passage into Ireland, soe that I thinke, till yow direct them to be retorned thither, they cannott be in a better station.[2] I have presumed to make some necessary alteracions in the troopes, where I have placed six honest officers that wilbee faithfull to yow, and I desire yow wilbe pleased to confirme them. Their names are: Capt. Richard Franklin to be

[1] The Irish Brigade consisted of the forces sent over from Ireland in August 1659, to help in the suppression of Booth's rising. They consisted of 1,000 foot and 500 horse under Colonel Zanchey and Colonel Axtell. Zanchey cast in his lot with Lambert and Fleetwood, but most of the officers of the brigade were zealous for the Parliament (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 110, 118, 127, 130, 153, 162, 203). Major Godfrey and the cavalry of the Irish Brigade helped Fairfax to secure York (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1659–60, 288, 293, 300; *Mercurius Politicus*, Dec. 29-Jan. 5, p. 1003); *MSS. of Mr. Leyborne-Popham*, p. 140).

[2] See Scot's letter to Monck (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1659–60, p. 310).

Captain of that troope late Capt. Richard Mac Laughlin's in Coll: Redman's regiment; Lawrence Cox, Cornett to him; Thomas Beard, Cornett to Major Meredith in Collonel Wallace's late Regiment; Lancelott Bolton, Lieutenant to Capt. John Salt's troope; Thomas Bentley, Captain-Lieutenant to Collonel Sankey's late troope; Paulett Phillips to be Quarter-Master to Capt. Thomas Walcott's troope. I cannott omitt to acquaint yow that Collonel Redman, whom yow sent to take charge of the Brigade, hath behaved himselfe with much prudence and faithfulnes in your service since hee came to itt, and hee deserves your favour and encouragement. Hee was unjustly putt from his Regiment in Ireland by the instigacion of Collonel Barrowe and Collonel Axtell, and Adjutant Generall Allen (noe good freind of yours) appointed to have itt. I desire yow will be pleased to restore him to his Regiment, and give him some further marke of your favour; for yow have few better horse officers in your service, and hee is sober and well principled, and such men deserve encouragement.[1] The Brigade will need a further inspection than I am able to make into itt upon my march, but I knowe yow wilbe pleased to direct the Commissioners to take care of itt. Lieutenant Collonel Brett, whom yow sent downe with Collonel Redman to command the foot under him, is an honest, stout, able officer, and one that is faithfull to yow; I humbly request yow to be mindfull of him for a regiment of foote in Ireland. And there is one Capt. Salt (whose troope is heere, and was lately disposed of to Collonel Desborough's sonne), who is an honest, able officer, and has bin long in your service; and I desire hee may be restored to his command, the other Gentleman having expressed

[1] Colonel Redman and Lieut.-Colonel Brett arrived to take command of the Irish Brigade on December 31, but, according to Major Godfrey, were generally regarded with some distrust, as being formerly 'such great sticklers for a Protector' (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1659-60, p. 294). Both had been cashiered for that reason in July 1659 (*ibid.* p. 12; Ludlow, ii. 203). Redman was already in communication with the agents of Charles II., and was knighted after the Restoration.

much dissatisfaction at your restauracion. When I came into Yorkshire I found the regiment of horse lately under Collonell Lambert all dispersed, and with few officers; and judging it requisite for your service to modell it for the safety of the northerne parts, I appointed Collonell Bethell to take charge of it as Collonell,[1] and by his advice have nominated the severall officers in the inclosed list to take charge of the men till your pleasure be knowne. One of them, by name Capt. Ralph Waterhouse, I had comissionated as Captain, and I humbly desire yow will confirme what I have done both [as] to the Collonell and the rest of them, for if it were not of greate advantage to your service I should nott move itt. Hee[2] is a person of great interest in the Northerne parts, and often in the time of the Protector Oliver was offred Comission but refused it, and the Regiment was much of it his before Lambert had it, and hee is of unquestionable courage and faithfullnes, which hee eminently testified in the late interrupcion by raising the County for yow; and hee tooke the Declaration of the Irish Brigade, which directly tended to an adherence with yow as yow were sitting on the 11th of October. I am informed the Commissioners of London, not knowing what I had done, had ordred this Regiment to Collonel Twisleton, which I am sorry for, in regard I thinke him to be a worthy person. But although I might have thought my selfe sufficiently qualified by your order of the second of January instant to dispose of the forces heere, I had nott done this but for the urgent necessity of your service, soe that I presume yow will heerafter in due time provide for Collonel Twisleton, and not discourage this worthy person. The truth is your selfe and many worthy members, by your letter into Scotland of the 23th of the last moneth, directed mee to dispose of the commands of all that had either deserted or neglected to

[1] Colonel Hugh Bethell commanded a regiment of horse in the army of the Northern Association in 1645, and was badly wounded at the battle of Rowton Heath in September 1645. He again commanded a regiment of Yorkshire horse during the year 1648.

[2] Colonel Bethell.

come to their comands in the time of your interrupcion, except Collonel Saunders, Major Barton, and Capt. Izard; but having disposed of Saunders and Barton's comands upon Lambert's pressing upon mee before your lettre came, I humbly moved your favour to Collonel Saunders and Major Barton;[1] but I presumed nott to mention Collonel Twisleton, because I knew nott how hee stood in your opinion, in regard yow excepted him nott in your lettre to mee. Yow had also, in a great and gratious respect to mee, bin pleased by your printed vote of the 12th of this moneth [to] againe confirme and approve of what I had done for your service,[2] which was since the disposicion I had made of this regiment, and I hope I have nott forfeited that your kindnes to mee by this action. I have nott had the honour to see Mr. Scott and Mr. Robinson yett,[3] because the wayes are soe unpassable they cannott reach beyond Leicester in a coach, and I have bin forc't to stay heere these two dayes for the coming up of the foote; but on Monday I shall marche to Leicester, and from thence acquaint yow with the time of my being in London, which is earnestly desired in obedience to your commands by

G. M.

General Monck to the Commissioners for the Government of the Army

lii. f. 59b. Right Honourable,

I perceive by yours of the 17th instant that, notwithstanding that I had nominated Col. Bethell to Lambert's Regiment, yow were pleased to order it to Colonell Twisleton, uppon a suggestion that I had writt to the Speaker, that beeing necessitated to

[1] On Colonel Saunders and Major Barton, see Monck's letter of December 29 (*Old Parliamentary History*, xxii. 41; *Commons' Journals*, vii. 804; Grey, *Answer to Neal's Puritans*, iv., Appendix p. 187).

[2] *Commons' Journals*, vii. 806.

[3] Scot and Robinson met Monck on the road between Leicester and Nottingham on January 23. See Gumble, p. 226; Baker, p. 702; Price, p. 754.

dispose of the regements of horse belonging to Colonell Twisleton, Colonel Sanders, and Major Barton, I desired the Parliament would give them the like commands in other places, which is a greate mistake, for I onely moved for Colonell Sanders and Major Barton, and not for Colonell Twisleton, although I beleeve Colonell Twisleton to bee a very worthy person; and the reason of my soe moveing was because on the twenty third of the last month the Speaker and about 20 Members of Parliament were pleased to send an expresse to mee with an accompt of theire affaires, and amongst other things they advised mee to dispose of the commands of all such as had either deserted or neglected theire commands, except Coll. Sanders, Major Barton, and Capt. Izod; and haveing disposed of the commands of Col. Sanders and Major Barton, uppon Lambert's presseing uppon mee, before the receipt of that letter, I humbly recomended Col. Sanders and Major Barton to the Parliament; and although I had and respect Col. Twisleton well, I forbore to mention him, because I knew not how hee stood in their opinion in regard they excepted him not in their letters as they did the other. I must confess, although I thought my selfe sufficiently qualified by the printed order of the second of January to dispose of any of the forces lately under Lambert, I had not done this but for the necessary service of the Parliament; and the howse haveing bin gratiously pleased by theire vote of the twelth of this month to confirme all I had done for the service of the Commonwealth, which was since the disposition of this regiment, I hope if there were noe other person, yow would not thinck I have forfeited that theire grace and respect by this action. I have nothing more at this time but to assure you I shall uppon all occasions indeavoure to approve my selfe,

Right Honourable,
Your affectionate and faithfull servant,
[GEORGE MONCK].

Nottingham,
22 Jan., 1659.

General Monck to the Speaker

lii. f. 60b. Right Honourable,

I have some days since received a Commission from the Councill of State under theire seale, dated the twenty fourth of November,[1] which was brought to mee by Captain Goodwin, in which the Councill are pleased, by the authority derived to them from yow,[2] to constitute mee therein Comander-in-Cheife of your forces in England and Scotland, with diverse powers which may bee seene at large in the transcript thereof,[1] which I make bould to send yow heere inclosed, desireing that uppon your consideration of itt yow will confirme soe much of it as yow shall conceive necessary for the Commonwealth and your service. I had sent you the originall, but I thought it incumbent to your service not to march soe greate a party of your army without power. I have alsoe herewith sent you a list of such officers as I have commissioned in your service since your interruption, who are all honnest and religiouse men, and such as will obey and not dispute the power the Lord has placed over them, and preserve the souldjers under them in an obedient discipline, and not to permitt them to bee troublesome with seditiouse adgitations. I must confesse I thinke it an extraordinary testimony of your favoure to mee that yow are pleased, by your vote of the 29th of December, to resolve that the respective officers placed by mee bee and are thereby confirmed in theire respective offices and places, and I doe ingage

[1] See p. 137, *ante*.

[2] The members of the Council of State appointed on May 19, 1659, continued to meet after the expulsion of the Long Parliament by Lambert on October 11, and the forcible interruption of their own meetings by the soldiers (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 83). Nine of them met in London on November 19 and sent a letter of encouragement to Monck, which is reprinted in Baker's *Chronicle*, p. 695. Phillips mentions this commission, and says that it was left in the hands of Clarges till a safe messenger could be found. Clarges had rejoined Monck at Nottingham (*ibid.* p. 701; *Clarke MSS.* lii. 50). The commission was approved on January 26, when this letter was read in Parliament (*Commons' Journals*, vii. 823).

that they shalbee faithefull to the Commonwealthes interest, if your kindenesse may bee soe farr compleated to us as to lett us have our Commissions signed by you, our renouned and ever faithfull Generall. I cannot sufficiently admire the goodnesse of the greate God, that from soe small an appeareance as wee were able to make at first was pleased to worke such greate things for the good of these poore Nations; and when your enimies boasted of theire numbers and mighty preparations, neither yow nor wee were daunted in prosecution of the cause of God to restore our magistracy and ministry most violently invaded, and likely to bee destroyed by the malice of unreasonable men. This is the Lords doeing, and mervilouse in our eyes; and I doubt not but hee will put it into your hearts to improve this greate mercy in the setlement of these nations in holinesse and righteousenesse, that a wise and godly magistracy may bee continued amongst us, and a learned and piouse ministry upheld and countenanced, and theire legall maintenance preserved and augemented, and the universityes reformed and incurraged, that from thence may come a supply of godly and learned labourers in the Lords vinyard. I know I neede not in this, nor any thing to you concerning your forces, theire late disorders sufficiently instructing you in the greate neede there is in putting over them godly and sober officers and men of estates and qualitie in the Nation, whose interest will thereby bee soe involued in yours that like Hipocrites twins you will laugh and weepe together, and bee soe strengthen'd that the malice of all sorts of enimies shall not prevale over yow; and the Nations will blesse the Lord for yow, and the divisions and animosities, of late too much fomented and increased by the impatient nations of the late disturbers, will bee healed and forgotten. These considerations, amongst many others, have drawne mee out and strengthened mee in my duty to you, to act with chearefulnes in your service, and to thinke life and fortune and all that was neere and deare to mee too little to venture to indeavoure to free you and my Native Country from the confusions wee were brought

into. I shall inlarge noe further, but intreate your favourable contribution of this addresse from

Your Honours most faithfull servant,

G. M.

Nottingham, 22 Jan. 1659.
To Mr. Speaker.

I have given a Commission to a Captain in Col: Knight's regiment to command that troope that was lately Capt. Izods, but I thinke not fitt to send his name in this list, because I have given it uppon condition that hee shall resigne it to Captain Izod, if yow provide not better for him at London. The list of Col. Robinson's Company at Ayre is not yet come to hand, but it shalbee sent shortly, with some others from remote parts in Scotland in case there bee any omitted out of this list.[1]

General Monck to Mr. Rolle

liii. f. 62b. Sir,

Finding my selfe in some measure obliged in respect to my relations and friends to take cognizance of a paper subscribed by them at Exon the 18th instant, and addressed to the Speaker by Mr. Bamfeild, to signifie to them my apprehensions thereof I have made bould to trouble you with the inclosed; the copie whereof I here alsoe send you,[2] earnestly beseeching yow to consider it

[1] The lists of the officers commissioned by Monck are contained in vol. LII. of the *Clarke MSS.*, but would require too much space to print here.

[2] Monck's answer to the Devonshire declaration, which is dated Leicester, January 21, is printed in the *Old Parliamentary History* (xxii. 68), and is No. xviii. in Toland's collection of his letters. For criticisms on Monck's answer see *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1659-60, pp. 330, 345; Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 208. The Devonshire declaration is reprinted in Kennet's *Register*, p. 30. Its publication and presentation by Sir Copleston Bampfield led to Bampfield's arrest, but other counties promptly followed the example of Devon (*Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 674, 679, 682; *Commons' Journals*, vii. 836, 847); cf. the Berkshire declaration, *Mercurius Politicus*, Jan. 26–Feb. 2, and those of Suffolk, Norfolk, and Bucks in the same number. All demanded the readmission of the secluded members.

seriously, and the evill consequences that may flow therefrom, in case there bee any persistance, and to use your utmost endeavoures and interest to beget a right understanding and compliance in them touching the proceedings of this Parliament, from whome, through the Lords blessing, wee are in hopefull expectation of a speedy and good setlement in a Commonwealth, not uppon any phanaticall parties or principalls, but uppon the true basis of interest and righteousnesse; and therefore, though in that paper I seeme to provide for all, even the giddy interests alsoe, yet I would not bee therein mistaken as intending to bring them againe into martiall and civill trust and power, but to secure them onelie in theire just rights as men and christians, free from tyranny and oppression. Wherefore, Sir, I intreate yow to procure a meeting of the Gentry of your County that subscribed that paper, and to present to them the inclosed with my hearty and most affectionate service, and to procure from them some declaration of theire acquiescence in this Parliament's proceedings, whereby theire hands may bee strengthened, the Common Enimy disappointed, and these Nations now at length bee setled upon such a foundation of Goverment as may comprehend and protect all interests, and preserve it selfe in peace against the designes of the worst of men; and such a Goverment wee are in expectation of from this Parliament at this time, if our sinns and passions provoke not the Lord to disappoint us. Soe, praying the Lord to crowne our hopes with his mercyes, and to blesse yow in your proceedings heerein, with the tender of my affectionate respects to your selfe,

I remaine,

Yours,

Harborrow, 23 Jan., 1659. [GEORGE MONCK].

Sir,—I have written to my Cozen Morris alsoe to bee assisting to you in this businesse.

General Monck to Mr. William Morris [1]

lii. f. 62.

Sir,

I have enclosed sent yow a copie of that letter I sent to Mr. Roll, to bee imparted to those Gentlemen that subscribed that paper of the 13th instant at Exon, and a copie alsoe of my owne to him, earnestly entreateing this greate favoure from yow at this tyme, that yow will please to use all your power and interest with him and all the other Gentlemen, that they would not insist uppon that paper, but on the contrary declare theire acquiescence in this Parliament's proceedings, whereby wee may once come (after soe many overturnings) to a setled condition of Goverment, and bee freed from this phanatic humor which hath borne sway soe long. I neede use noe arguments to you, who are better able to discerne men, times, and things then I am, onely, if your occasions could permitt, after yow have had a meeting with those Gentlemen—let the effects thereof bee what it will, for I will not doubt (God assisting) the faileing of my hopes, if yow once engage therein—that yow will please to doe mee both the honoure and favoure as to meete mee att London, where more freedome may bee used then can well with conveniency bee exprest by letter. Sir, Ile trouble yow noe farther, butt recomending these my desires to your care and your selfe and negotiation to God, and soe remaine,

Sir,

Yours,

Harborow, 23 Jan., 1659. [GEORGE MONCK].

For Mr. Morris.

Sir Arthur Hesilrige to General Monck [2]

lii. f. 73.

Sir,

Understanding from Colonell Alured that there are some reports that there should be forces sent for to come to towne that

[1] William Morice, knighted and made Secretary of State after the Restoration, is described by Clarendon as allied to Monck, 'and entirely trusted by him in the managing of his estate in that county' (*Rebellion*, xvi. 162).

[2] Monck's answer to this letter is printed in the *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 678.

you know not of, and also officers sent into severall parts to gather forces, and that Major Strangwayes was one, who was this evening att the Counsell to receive the comissions for the regiment, and I thinke hee intends to goe out of towne to morrow. Indeed, Sir, it exceedingly troubles mee to heare such reports should be raised that are soe notoriously false. Beleive mee, there was not the least colour for this, or any part of it, and I assure yow I had rather dye then breake my word. I beseech yow, forgett not what I have said to you: I shall never faile yow in your standing for a Commonwealth.

Sir, it is also reported that I should have conference with Lambert and Sir Henry Vane. The first I never spoke with since his returne from Booth's defeate, nor with Sir Henry Vane since his being turned out of the Howse, neither have I had, or will be perswaded to have any discourse with them, or either of them, or any for them. Neither will I be in any designe or plott whatsoever, for what I doe shall be above board. I intreat yow to acquaint your officers, if I be named at any time, with what I here affirme, and answere for mee—yow shall have noe shame by it. It is very late,

I am,

This 12th February, 1659.

Sir,

Your most faithfull and reall servant,

ARTH. HESILRIGE.

General Monck to the Council of State

Right Honourable, lii. f. 71b.

I was determined this morning to have waited on you myselfe, to have manifested the reallity of my intencions to you, that they were for noe other ends then the publick, and that upon the same accompt yourselves assert in a Commonwealth. And as for the other particulars mentioned in your letter, they were accidents emergent from the suddennesse of my removeall, and are nowe

past, and I thinke better to be forgotten then to be taken notice of. But my officers, comeing to me just now in order to the execution of resolutions, have soe importun'd mee, not onely in relation to themselves and their forces, being not yett well and orderly setled in their quarters, but in relation to the peace of this great cittie and nations, and indeed have urged mee with such reasons as not being able sufficiently to answere, [I] am content to submit thereunto, and those also seconded by some eminent cittizens and constant friends of yours.[1] Whereupon, I earnestly intreat you to dispense with my absence for a weeke or ten dayes, within which tyme I hope you will soe setle all things as this distance will be taken away, and the present dissatisfaccion removed from the spirits of all men, when they once see they shall be fully represented, and themselves made sharers in the government, as well as in obedience, which commending to your speedy care, I remayne

Your, etc.,

G. M.

Bread Street, London,
18 Febr. 1659.

To the Council of State.

[1] Monck was sent into the City on Thursday, February 9, with orders to arrest certain persons, to take down the gates and portcullises, and to take away the posts and chains which had been put up for the defence of the City (*Commons' Journals*, vii. 837). His letter to the Council of State, of the same date, giving an account of his fulfilment of part of his orders and of his reasons for not fulfilling the rest, is printed in the *Old Parliamentary History* (xxii. 92), and is No. 22 in Toland's collection. Parliament thereon ordered him to complete his task, and on Friday, the 10th, he did so, returning again that night to Whitehall. On the morning of Saturday 11th, Monck sent a long letter to the Speaker, from Whitehall, signed by himself and his officers, in which he demanded the issue of writs for new elections, &c.. and manifested openly his opposition to the policy of the prevailing party in the House (*Old Parliamentary History*, xxii. 98; Toland, No. 23). After sending the letter, he marched again into the City (Baker, pp. 706–709).

On February 12 the Council of State wrote to Monck, complaining of 'the tumultuous assemblies and outrageous disorders' which had taken place the previous night, and inviting him to return to Whitehall (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1658–59, p. 358). He returned the answer printed above. Their reply, dated

General Monck to the Council of State[1]

Right Honourable, lii. f. 72b.

I am sensible of your respects to mee in your last night's invitacion to conferre with you, and returne yow my humble thankes for the same. But in regard the present oath putts a barre upon my selfe and many others from acting as counsellors, I cannott be usefull to you if I should come till that be moderated or taken away; and indeed the present distraccions of this place are soe great that it is absolutely necessary for your service and the publique safety that I be here some time yett, for the people are much heightened in their feares by the continuacion of armes in the hands of phanatique and disaffected persons to the Parliament, who have had 7,000 lately out of the stoares, and are (as I am informed) provideing others.

I shall not mencion the desperate speeches of some persons against this cittie and your forces, because Alderman Atkins will give an account to the Howse of them; but I desire you will call in all the publique armes into your stores, if you will proceed noe further, to prevent if possible the wicked designes of men of such rageing and desperate spirits and principles that would draw us all into blood and confusion rather then not compasse their wicked purposes. Upon these consideracions I heartily beseech you to put a favourable construccion upon my intentions for your service, who am,

Right Honourable,

Your Honour's most humble servant,

G. M.

Drapers' Hall,
14th February, 1659.

February 18, is also calendared amongst the *State Papers* (p. 360). Monck's rejoinder is amongst the *Clarke Papers*.

[1] Further letters from the Council of State to Monck between February 15 and February 20 are to be found in the *Calendar of State Papers*, 1659-60, pp. 365, 367, 370, 372.

General Monck to Sir Arthur Hesilrige

liii. f. 74.

Sir,

The last night here mett att my Quarters severall Members, both of those secluded, those now sitting, and of those who refuse to sitt, amongst whom arose a free and civill discourse concerning setlement and the present affaires,[1] the scope whereof, together with the temper of the persons and positions held forth for setlement, without partiall or passionate respect to persons or things other then in order to the universall interest and quiett of these too long unquiett Nacions, [which] hath given mee encouragement to presume to desire and entreat your company at my Quarters on Friday night at 6 of the clock, bringing with yow Coll. Morley, Coll. White, and Mr. Scott, where yow shall find the like number of the secluded members to enterteyne yow, that if happily, through Gods blessing upon your results, there may be a right understanding, and the great worke of the Nacions setlement in a Commonwealth goe on more prosperously and unanimously then hitherto, which is the desires and shall be the prayers and endeavours of

Sir,

Drapers Hall, 15th Febru: 1659. G. M.

To Sir Arthur Hesilrige.
The like letter to the Lord St. Johns, and hee to bring along with him Sir Anth: Cooper. Mr. Carew Raighley, and Mr. Attorney Reynolds.

Colonels Bethell and Fairfax to General Monck

liii. f. 75.

May it please your Excellency,

Wee have heere such tampering by Emissaryes sent out by the fanatique party from all parts, that we cannot but conjecture there

[1] For accounts of this conference see Kennet's *Register*, p. 61; Gumble, p. 260; Baker, pp. 709, 710; Christie, *Life of Shaftesbury*, i. 212; Ludlow, ii. 228. See also *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1659-60, p. 372. A second meeting took place on Saturday, February 18.

is a designe for some shortly to appeare. What rumours wee have of any to head them (nott having any proofe considerable to impart) shall have only this effect, to double our diligence and make farther enquiry. Wee have sent yow the letter from the Governour of Hull,[1] as likewise the informacion of a weake witted Gentleman of 18 yeares old, who att present is dismissed upon 100 *li.* bond (a citizen heere being cautioner for him). Intelligences and meetings are more frequent att the Mannour than will be safe for us; therfore wee desire Coll. Lilburne may be removed into the Southerne parts (being his owne desire) rather than remaine in his house in this County. Coll. Bethell's regiment (well pleased with their change) will yett need encouragement by a speedy receipt of their pay, which though it wilbe acceptable to the rest of these forces, yett to them most necessary. Wee remain

Your Excellencyes most obedient servants,

HU: BETHELL, [C.] FAIRFAX.

Yorke, 2° Marty, 1659.

Postcript:

Notwithstanding these mutations and underminings, our souldiers continue their fidelity to the Parliament and your Excellency.

The letter from Hull [is] to your Excellency, and signed by those officers; copyes therof were dispersed by some of their agents only to private souldiers, but none to the officers.[2]

[1] The letter from Hull is given in an abridged form in Baker's *Chronicle*, p. 713, and in the *Report on Mr. Leyborne-Popham's MSS.*, p. 163. Overton's explanatory letter, dated March 6, is in the same report, p. 170.

[2] On receipt of this account of Overton's proceedings, Monck sent Major Jeremiah Smith and Colonel Alured to Overton to explain the state of affairs, with letters from himself and from the Council of State. 'The General having a design to remove Overton,' Smith was instructed 'privately to deal with some officers and soldiers under him who loved him not, to bring him to reason, if upon orders for his remove he should be disobedient to them' (Baker, p. 713). They arrived at Hull on March 7, and found Overton more amenable to reason than they expected. An extract from the letter of the two emissaries to General

The Examinacion of Robert Redhead, of Essendon, in Holdernesse, taken this 28th day of February, 1659, before [Colonel] Fairfax

ii. f. 75. This Examinant saith, That on the Lord's day last past, hee being at dinner with Coll. Overton, Governour of Hull, Capt. Ramsey read a lettre which came from London, directed to the said Coll. Overton, wherin was expressed that the Citizens of London did proferre to give to the Parliament the summe of five and twenty hundred thousand pounds if they would issue out writts in the name of C. R., and further confesseth not.

General Monck to the Officers commanding Regiments

lii. f. 77. Sir,

The Councill of State haveing received intelligence that sundrie persons of turbulant spirits are sent abroad into many regements of the army, to disaffect them to the present authority, and to begett distractions and divisions in the army, have thought fit to emitt the inclosed proclamation,[1] to the end the discipline of the army may be kept inviolated, upon which the peace and safety of these Nations doe soe much depend. I therefore desire your care

Monck, and copies of Overton's letters to Monck and to the Council of State, are printed in *Mercurius Politicus*, March 8–15, pp. 1163–65.

Monck simultaneously appointed Colonel Fairfax Governor of Hull, and sent him to Beverley with a small force, giving him also a letter to Overton, in which Overton was ordered to repair to London within twenty-four hours after its receipt. This letter is printed at length in Baker's *Chronicle* (p. 712). Overton obeyed: Fairfax was in possession of Hull by March 12, and its late Governor arrived in London on the 18th or 19th of March (*Mercurius Politicus*, pp. 1174, 1190; see also Price, p. 778; Gumble, p. 267; *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1659–60, pp. 381, 388).

[1] Apparently the proclamation for preventing tumults and disturbances, dated March 17. It offered a reward of ten pounds for the arrest of any person trying to debauch the soldiers. It is printed at length in *Mercurius Politicus*, March 22–29, p. 1198. The result was an address from the Army, embodying an engagement not to take part in any meetings for contriving declarations, &c. relating to affairs of State. This is printed in Baker, p. 719.

in the execution thereof, and to returne mee an accompt of your proceedings therein. And bec[a]use such designes may possibly have arrisen from the malitious endeavoures of some men to render this army, in the esteeme of the good people of these Nations, less zealous then formerly in maintaineing the civill and religious [rights] of our Country against the knowne enemies thereof, I doe therefore assure yow that wee shall (as freeborn Englishmen) stand in defence of the liberties and privileges of these Nations, as well such as are of religious as civill concernment, and shall in our stations and callings discharge our duty in supressing of those who are enemies to true piety and freedome. This being all I have to communicate unto yow, I remaine

Your very loveing Freind and Servant,

[March 17 ?] [GEORGE MONCK].

General Monck to the Officers commanding Regiments

Sir, lii. f. 77b.

The Lord Lambert haveing escaped out of the Tower the last night, I desire you will bee very carefull of your duty, and not suffer any officers to bee away from their charges, and to have an eye that no Agitators come amongst your souldiers to withdrawe them from their duty. And if they doe, to secure them and send them in safe custody to the Martiall Generall at the Mewe. And in case that any officer or souldier shall apprehend the Lord Lambert, you may give them notice that they shall have one hundred pounds for their paines. I remaine

Your very loveing Freind and Servant,

[GEORGE MONCK].

St. James's, the 11th day of April, 1660.

Sir Arthur Hasilrige to General Monck[1]

My Lord,

I beseech your Lordship to let the Council understand that I have neither directly nor indirectly done anything in opposition to the present authority settled by the Parliament in the Council of State. Neither was I knowing in the least degree of the disturbance made by Lambert. I have always acted with the authority of Parliament, and never against it, and hold it my duty to submit to the authority of the Nation and not to oppose it, and have hazarded my all to bring the military power under the civil authority. I forgott to give you the two pence, it is here enclosed, and, being secured by your Lordshipp's promise, I hope to end the remainder of my days in peace and quiet.

ARTHUR HASILRIGE.

30 April, 1660.

General Monck to the Officers commanding Regiments

lii. f. 82.

Sir,

In pursuance of an order of the Commons House of Parliament, there being Commissions issued under the great Seale of England to the respective Colonels and other Feild officers or one of them, with one of his Majesties Justices of Peace in the Counties respectively where the Regiments doe quarter, to administer the oathes of supremicy and Alegiance to their Regiments respectively, I therefore desire you with all convenient speed after the receipt of the said Commission to proceede to the execution of the said Commission, and to returne to mee, under the hand of your selfe or some other Feild officer of the Regiment, the names of such officers and the number of souldiers who shall have taken the said oathes; but if there bee any who shall refuse the same, you are to discharge

[1] *Egerton MS.* 2618, f. 71. This is from the portion of the *Clarke Papers* sold to the British Museum by Mr. Leyborne-Popham.

all such persones refuseing, whether they bee officers or souldiers, and to signify unto mee the names of any officers soe discharged. I remaine

Your very loveing Freind and Servant,

GEORGE MONCK.

Cock-pitt,
5° July, 1660.

I desire you to take care that noe officers or souldiers bee admitted into your regiment unless they first take the oathes of Supremicy and Alegiance, or produce a certificate that they have taken itt.

General Monck to the Officers commanding Regiments of Horse

Sir, lii. f. 88.

The Lord's Commissioners of his Majesties Treasury haveing appointed that the officers and souldiers of the army doe give in under their hands respectively [and] perticulerly what Crowne lands were bought or doe belong unto them, in regard the officers here, and I on their behalfe, are suitors to his Majestie for a perticuler marke of his favour to the army in consideracion of those lands. I desire you, therefore, to appoint the officers and souldiers of your regiment of Horse to bring in and deliver unto you the perticulers of any such Crowne lands or rents, vizt. Kings, Queenes, or Princes lands, as they really have purchased, under their hands respectively, each officer and souldier by himselfe, the time when they purchased them, with the yearely value of them, and whether in trust or for themselves, acccrding to the tenor of the inclosed, after they have expressed their lands as aforesaid, and to send two copies of them inclosed to Doctour Samuell Barrow, directing them to him at Mr. William Clerck's house in the Pell-Mell, one to bee delivered to the Surveyour Generall, and the other to bee kept by ——. This is desired in regard the former perticulers sent

upp are not soe full [as] to answer these ends for which they are intended, which is all at present from

Your very loveing Freind,

ALBEMARLE.

Cock-pitt: 21° July, 1660.

In pursuance of an order from the Lord's Commissioners of his Majesties Treasury, the 16° of July, 1660, I doe hereby certifie that the lands above mentioned were purchased by mee, A. B., of Capt. Company or Troope, in Coll. Regiment of I. S., on the day of in the yeare of our Lord to my owne proper use and none other, and that the yearely value above mentioned is the true and just value thereof. Witness my hand the day of in the yeare of our Lord, 1660.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CERTIFICATES EXTRACTED FROM GENERAL MONCK'S ORDER-BOOK, CLARKE MS. VOL. XLIX.

[During his command in Scotland, and still more frequently after the restoration of Charles II., Monck was asked to certify the loyalty of particular persons who, for political reasons, needed such testimonials. The following are a few specimens selected from the many such entries which his order-books contain.]

March 11, 165⅗.—Certificate, that the bearer, Mr. Robert Pittilloch, Advocate, hath for severall yeares past expressed much affection to the interest of the English in Scotland, and was in the beginning of November 1654 appointed Sollicitor for his Highnesse the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth: In which office hee continued till the 11th of February 1656, att which time hee was appointed by his Highnesse' Councill in Scotland to serve as Advocate to the State, in which hee served till June 1659. And during the said imployments (as well as before) hee behaved himself faithfully, honestlie, and diligentlie, and exercised the same with much ability and advantage to his Highnesse' interest.

October 20, 1660.—Certificate, that wheras there is a rumour that Captain [Walter] Dundasse, who was Governor of Edinburgh Castle in the yeare 1650, did deliver uppe the said Castle to the English forces then before itt for a certaine summe of monie. To certifie that the said report is untrue, and that there was noe monie given to the said Captain Dundasse uppon the delivery of the said Castle, which his

Excellency can the rather testifie, being then one of the commissioners who treated for the rendition of the Castle, and when they had concluded of the termes, Oliver Cromwell, then Generall, was nott satisfied with them, butt would have had the officers that came from Captain Dundasse to have returned; yett uppon further consideration agreed to the said articles.

Dec. 7, 1660.—These are to certifie all whom these may concerne that the occasion of Archibald, Lord Marquesse of Argyll, his being present att the Crosse at Edinburgh, for the proclayming of Richard Cromwell in the yeare 1657 (*sic*) was uppon a desire of the Councill of Scotland that all noblemen of that kingdome then in Edinburgh should appeare there.

Jan. 3, 166$\frac{0}{1}$.—Certificate that Dougall McFerson of Powry was nott imployed by his Grace as a guide in the Highlands in the yeare 1654, butt came to his Lordshippe at Sterling, and from thence went to Aberfoyle about some affaires of Badgenoth, which was after the Engagement at Lough Gary.

May 2, 1661.—Certificate that William Lenthall, Esq., formerly Speaker to the House of Commons, was instrumentall to his Grace when hee was in Scotland, sent severall officers to him (which hee stood in neede of) to Berwick, assisted in the bringing in the secluded Members, and was very active for the restoring of his Majesty, and performed many other services which tended much to the good of the Kinge and Kingdome, which could nott have bin soe well effected without his helpe.

May 28, 1661.—Certificate that in October 1659 there being divers souldiers of Capt. Ashby's troope in Col. Twisleton's regiment, afterwards Sir John Cloberies, who refused to joyne with his Grace, his Lordshippe gave order to Captain John Hill, uppon his taking the command of the said troope, to dispose of 10 weekes pay which belonged to them for buying of horses for the mounting of divers foote souldiers and others in their roome, and for supplying the officers with horses instead of those they had lost or spoyled in the service.

Oct. 10, 1661.—Certificate that Col. John Hills was very faithfull to his Grace in all the late transactions in Scotland, and singularly active and instrumentall in his Majestie's happy Restauration.

Nov. 13, 1662.—Certificate that John Pradman, Fellow of King's Colledge in Cambridge, from his Grace's first declaring in Scotland in October 1659 till his march into England, was very usefull and serviceable to his Grace in conveying of letters from his friends and correspondents in London by the way of Cambridge for Scotland, and was very active in order to his Majesty's most happy Restauration.

Dec. 26, 1662.—Certificate that Mr. William Carre was in the yeare 1659 examined at the Councill of State, uppon the discoverie of a plott intended against the army then under his Grace's command immediately after their coming to London, and then produced a blanke commission sealed with the pretended state armes, signed Tho. Scott, President to the Councill, for raising forces under severall Anabaptists to oppose the army, and alsoe informed mee that Francis Scott, sonne of the said Thomas Scott, had vowed to kill mee, att which time the said Mr. Carre did behave himself very active and loyall to his Majesty, and afterwards, in the beginning of May 1660, went over with his brother Clarges to his Majesty, then at Bredah.

APPENDIX B

Dr. Barrow's Notes on the Proceedings of General Monck

[*Elenchi Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia Pars III.* Autore T. Skynner, M.D. 1676. The copy of this book now in Worcester College Library was sent by the author to Dr. Sam Barrow, 'with a letter desireing him to looke it over, and take notice of any mistakes he should find in it.' This note is signed G. C.—*i.e.* George Clarke. It is now Worcester MS. 135. Barrow wrote the following notes on the fly-leaves.]

Page 27.

There are letters to Fleetwood and Lambert dated at Berwick the 14th and 16th of December, and to the commissioners at Portsmouth from Coldstream the 19th of that month.

Page 27, in margin, 'Monchius Coldstremium consedit Oct. 8.'

This must be the 8th of December, if it was precisely the 8th of any month, for I am certain he came not thither till the beginning of that month.

Page 33. Quamprimum Monchio compertum fuit ad senatum defecisse classem, &c.

He broke off the treaty before he knew of the defection of the fleet to the Rump. I remember well the first news he had of that was brought by Major Banister, whom he had sent to Newcastle with the letters that broke it off.

Page 50. Sed unde tam adversa sui fama senatoribus adeo morem gesserat.

The true reason why he pulled down the Citty gates was because he had no choice but either to do it or quitt his command. The order for pulling them down was not directed singly to him, but jointly to the Commissioners. Hazelrig and Morley and Walton were then upon the place, and acted jointly with him, so that if he had refused they

were able to over-vote him, and would have done it without him, and by consequence have taken the command of the army from him. The next night he got such officers as he thought convenient about him, which were none but those that came with him from Scotland, except Col. Sanders and Major Barton; and of himself alone, without the knowledge of the other Commissioners, ordered the march into London in the morning, and had two copies of the letter he sent to the Rump ready signed by break of day, one to send to them and another to the press. So that they received the letter from the hands of such officers as he sent with it, and had a printed copy of it much about the same time. It is true he found the officers as willing to obey him that night as he found them unwilling to pull down the Citty gates the night before, which gave him an opportunity of doing that so suddenly which otherwise must have cost him longer time and some other pretence.

Page 54. Ut primum inaudisset Monchius quintenum se factum imperatorem, &c.

His being made but the fifth part of a General was not the cause of the restoring the Secluded Members. For he was indeed but the fifth part of one before, or perhaps but the seventh; for the command of the army was by the Rump put into the hands of those seven mentioned by you, page 16. And if it might be said to be altered, it was only in the manner following. Whilst the Committee of Safety reigned the Rump Councill of State, sitting privately, had signed a commission and sent it to him in Scotland, whereby he was empowered to command the armies of England and Scotland; but it was so penned that he might apprehend that if the rest of the commissioners should be upon the place with him, or could conveniently be advised with, he should take their consent along with him. Only Fleetwood and Ludlow were left out.

This commission, upon the return of the Rump, was confirmed by them *in terminis*; and according to this he often advised with them by letters whilst he was upon his march, and after he came to London he acted jointly with them, and they had one common table allowed for them all. So that by the alteration you speak of he received neither damage nor affront, all the change that was made being only of Alured for Overton, the former of which had hitherto been upon

the same foot with him, and the latter, tho' several times sent to, had refused to have any correspondance with him till after Lambert's army had left him. Wherefore this was but a vulgar error caused by the mistake or the forgetfulnesse of those that were the authors of it. But the one reason of his bringing in the Secluded Members was, because it was the only possible step he could make forward at that time, and it is easy to be imagined that he did not leave the Rump with an intention to go back again to them. With much difficulty the army was brought to admit of their sitting, and with no less to endure their continuance till they dissolved themselves, they having several times during that time attempted to demonstrate for a Commonwealth, and were not without much ado hindred from it.

Page 57. Atque hic primo initium ferendi ad Carolum imperii coeptum fuit.

Concerning this point you seem yourself to be satisfied (page 154), and I suppose have since received further satisfaction from my Lord of Bath and Dr. Price. I shall only give you the reason of his great reservedness, which was the occasion of that opinion. He understood very well that it was impossible for him to have any assistance, or any other advantage, by communicating with the King's party, but, on the contrary, apparent hazard of the ruine of his designe, if not of himself. For this evidently appeared to him when the Scots offered to assist him with 6,000 foot and 1,500 horse. He was then in a condition low enough to accept of them, and did not refuse them so much for the reason by you mentioned as for this reason only, that the army would not admit of them. And this I speak upon my certain knowledge, being at that time present at a secret Councill appointed to consider of that business, wherein it was the sense of the whole board that if there should be any commissions granted for the Scots to raise men, all the horse would run away to Lambert that night. Neither was there any other reason of the refusall insisted on, or so much as mentioned. Nor was he free from this fear till Lambert was taken by Coll. Ingoldsby.

APPENDIX C

LETTERS SELECTED FROM THE TANNER AND CARTE MSS.

[The Tanner and Carte MSS. in the Bodleian Library contain a certain number of letters relating to the events of 1659-60. A selection from these letters is added here, in order to complete the account of the events of that period contained in the portion of the 'Clarke Papers' printed in the previous pages.]

Mr Richard Tolson to Speaker Lenthall

Tanner MS. li. f. 48.

Right Honorable,

Resyding now in my native county of Cumberland, and veiwing a Declaracion of the Parliament assembled at Westminster by the providence of the Almighty, dated Saturday, the 7th of May, 1659, and proclaimed this 6th day of May instant at Cockermouth, I owne you in all fidellity and obedience; and at present haveing weighty affairis, and this county being one of the most remote from London, I humbly implore your Honour's faveour to communicate my innocency, integrity, and willingness that as a Member I may attend the Parliament, and there discharge my trust in all feythfullness to the utmost of my weake abillityes. And alsoe I crave your Honour to assure the Parliament that I shall devote myselfe for a blessing on theire proceedings, and in my spheare in a civill or marshall way be ready ever to demonstrate a cordiall and reall activeness for the good-old-cause and peace of this commonwealth as a free state, and consequently oblidges to verifie myselfe,

Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

RI. TOLSON.

Cockermouth,
this sixth day of May, 1659.

Sir Michael Livesey to Speaker Lenthall

Tanner MS. li. f. 50.

Honorable Sir,

Yours came to my hands to-day, sent by the sluop, though I had one yesterday from you by the post, of the same language and date, they being both to command my personall attendance in Parliament, which through the goodnes of God is in a condicion to make some further progress in compleating such a settlement which may be glorifying of the Most High and a refyrshment to the nearts of all his. This day is the first day that I came out of my chamber of a fever, soe that it will be the beginning of the next weeke befour I can safely come to doe my service. What hast can be possibly made I wille expedite, for there is noe joy under the sun more welcome to me then to doe service for the Parliament, called by what names or titles soever. The Lord, to make us comfortable restorers of this nation['s] freedome, I hope will seale his grace upon our hearts, and guide us with his spirritt of meekenes and unity, that we may goe on like his children in doing our hevenly Father's work. I doubt I transgress, therefore begg pardon, and conclude,

Sir, Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

LIVESEY.

Sheppey,
13th May, 1659.

I hope to be excused for this scribbly paper, for I am much to doe to write through distemper.

Mr. John Gurdon to Speaker Lenthall

Tanner MS. li. f. 55.

Honorable Sir,

I received your letter of summons from the Parlament of England, dated the seventh day of May, and should have bine very dilligent in observinge the commands of that Honorable House in the disscharge of my duty in my attendance and service of the House; but soe it hath pleased Divine Providence to lay many infermities upon my body by reason of some greate sicknesses that I have of late yeares had, soe that my eye sight is allmost totally perished; but and if it shall please Allmighty Providence to give me any helpe or furderance to my recovery, I shall hartily give up my selfe to spend and be spent in laying out my selfe in attending the service of the House, which, Sir,

I hartilly desire you would be pleased to acquaint the House with, which is the humble request of me, who am,

Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

JOHN GURDON.

Asinton,
May the 13th,
1659.

Mr. John Weaver to Speaker Lenthall

Honourable Sir, Tanner MS. li. f. 68.

I received this day your lettre of May 7th, which, it seemes, was through some mistake carryed into Scotland, and from thence came to my hands; according to the commands whereof I shall (through God's leave) waite upon you the middle of the next weeke, not being at present in a fitting condicion for travaile, by reason of a flux of rhume in one of myne eyes, which is very troublesome to me. In the meane tyme my poore prayers dayly are for the Lord's guidance of that assembly wherein you sitt, to act those thinges which may advance his honour and the setlement of the nacion upon firme bases for its future peace and tranquillitye. I am,

Sir,

The humblest of your Servants,

JOHN WEAVER.

Northluffenham,
May 18th.

Admiral Montagu to Speaker Lenthall

Right Honorable, Tanner MS. li. f. 69.

Your letter of the 14th instant came to my hands yesterday at noone, whereby I have received your commands to demeane my selfe with this fleete accordinge to the treatye made in Holland, which I shall with all carefullnesse observe. On the last Lord's day I had a coppie of the same treatye sent mee out of Holland by Mr. Downinge, concerninge my reception whereoff and proceedings afterward I entreate you would please to accept of the account sent in my pacquett to Mr. Secretary Thurloe, which was sealed up and delivered to the messenger and the vessell just goinge to sayle for England as the Hind catch came in sight. In that dispatch, also, you will be enformed of all the matters of fact within my cognisance in these parts scince my former letters. I could be very glad to receive com-

mands with all possible speed how the fleete might be managed to be somewhat usefull, which I feare it is not much in the posture and according to the instructions I am now tied up unto. After the 3 weekes' tyme for the treatye is expired, the Dutch fleete will certainly joyne, De Ruyter already havinge posted himselfe in the mouth of the Belt to the northwards, and Opdam to the southwards about Langeland; and I lie here and have noe order to prevent their conjunction, or manadge my selfe any way untill further order.

Scince I heard of the affaires in England (which [I] acknowledge filled my spirit with feares and sorrow) I take the more especiall care for the good governement and management of this fleete for the service of the nat[ion], and through God's goodnesse wee have beene blessed [therein], and all with us are in an orderly way of discipline, and I may (I doubt not) with confidence affirme [they] will soe continue; and upon the acquaintance I have had with them I hold my selfe oblidged in justice to give them this caracter, that they are as faith[full]y obedient, able, and industrious servants to theire owne nation as are in the world, and deserve your countenance and encouragement.

For my owne part I am he[artily] glad that God hath graciously prevented distur[bances] and combustions in England in the midst of these . . . wonderfull dispensations, and continued peace and tran[quility] therein. That he may proceede to continue the s[ame] blessinge upon it, with an encrease of all prosp[erity], is the praer and shall be the endeavor most faith[fully] of,

Right Honourable,

Your most humble Servant,

E. MOUNTAG[U].

Nasebye, about 8 leagues thwart of the Koll, it bearinge N. N. East.
May 27th, 1659.

Mr. John Bradshawe to Speaker Lenthall

Tanner MS. li. f. 89.

[Honourable] Sir,

I have by Mr. Love, a Member of this happie Parliament, receyved the Howse's pleasure touching my self in relation to the Great Seale, wherein as I desire with all humble thankfulnes to acknowledge the respect and favour done me in honouring me with such a trust, so I should reckon it a great happines if I were able immediatlie to answer

the call and personallie attend the service, which at present I am not, labouring under an aguish dystemper of above 8 months' continuance, for removing whereof (after much physicke in vayne), according to advyce on all hands, I have betaken my self to the fresh ayre, and hope (though my fitts have not yet left me) to receive benefit and advantage thereby; and for this I humbly begge the Parliament's leave and permission if upon this just occasion they shall not in their wysdomes thinke fit otherwise to dyspense with me.

In the meane tyme it hath bene, and is, no small addition to my other afflictions that for want of health it hath not bene in my power, according to my heart's earnest desire, to be serviceable in my poore measure to the publique; but by the helpe of God, when through his goodnes my strength shalbe restored (of which I despayre not), I shalbe most free and willing to serve the Parliament and commonwealth in anie capacitie, and that, through dyvine assistance, with all diligence, constancie, and faithfulnes, and to the utmost of my power.

I judged it my dutie to give this account of myself to the Howse, and humbly desyre by your hand it may be tendred to them, for whom I daylie pray that God would blesse all their counsels and consultacions and succeede all their unwearyed endevours for the happie setling and establishing of this latelie languyshing and now revived Commonwealth upon sure and lasting foundacions.

Sir, I rest and am

Your humble Servant,

Jo: BRADSHAWE.

[Founthi]ll, in Wyltshire,
1659.
[Anno rena]scentis Republicæ
-Primo.[1]

Colonel Lillingston and Colonel Alsop to the Council of State

The Lord Generall Lockhart at his departure hence on Saturday last, haveing committed the care of this garrison and the forts thereof unto us, did by his instructions order us on all occasions to give your Honours an account of the state of the affaires here, the which wee shall dewly observe to doe; wherefore your Honours may please to understand that the works here and at Fort Ollyver goe on very well, Tanner MS. li. f. 86.

[1] The date is partly torn away, but this letter was read in the House on June 9.

and that fort will bee finished within 6 or 8 dayes. This day wee have sett foorth two halfe moones on the east syde of the towne without the counterskarfe, very considerable to hinder the approach of the enemy on that side.

Our carriages lately received prove rotten and bad, soe that the charge of repayring them is allmost as much as for new, and wee shall want more. We judge the sandhills on the west syde will bee levelled within these 20 dayes, soe far as wee intend this yeare, and the works there will bee compleated within these 10 or 12 dayes. Much of our mony goes away to the workemen, who have now put it into a good posture against an enemy, though at our comeing the fortification was allmost demolished and brought to nothinge. Upon his Lordship's arryvall here without the mony which the soldiers expected for their pay (besides the weekely loane) from the tyme they came hether, on the Lord's day last appeared a distemper, or rather a combination amongst them to have seised all their officers and to have payd themselves by plundering the towne; but God was pleased to give us some light of it about one hower and halfe before it shold have beene effected, and all the officers declared themselves readily to quel the designe, by whose prudence and dilligence the Lord hath beene pleased to prevent it, soe that at presente things are well setled, upon our assuring the soldiers to write to your Honours for mony to satisfye them their arreares, as wee doe, hopeing your Honours will bee pleased to consider all things here are extreame deare, and the poore soldiers cannot bee trusted for what they want, and haveing boene as faithfull hetherto as any that have served the Commonwealth, they are put to such hardships as others who receave pay are not; and wee trust your Honours may by this tyme bee enabled toe send them their pay, or some part at least, to prevent the hazard and inconveniencies which may bee endeavored to bee brought upon us by evill instruments crept in amongst us, which doubtles dryve on the designe of Charles Stuart, and whome as yett wee cannot fynd out, though the officers have used all diligence, day and night, in searching the towne, for which purpose allso wee searched the post-lettres going into the enemye's quarters and read them; and amongst some inhabitants here who gave intelligence to their freinds there of our distemper was one of the fryers' Minions, whose covent doe consist but of fower, whome wee shall to morrow turne out of towne till your Honours' pleasure bee further

knowne; otherwise there hath beene noe disturbance done to the inhabitants, nor a man of them lost a penny. Wee request your Honours for 200 men to recruite Collonel Lillingstone's regiment for the 2½ companyes which were lost at sea; wee have much hinderance for want of them and the 2 companyes of Collonel Salmon; and 2 of Collonel Gibbon's regiment, who have soe long beene kept here for them, desire to go home. The said companyes behaved themselves very faithfully in the late disturbance. Here arryved this day Monsieur Tallon, the French King's Intendant for Picardy, who assureth us that the cessasion of armes is continued till further order, and that hee was sent downe hether to give us notice of it, and offereth us (by orders, as hee saith, from his master the King of France) the assistance of all the French forces in Flaunders, if wee desire them; but wee shall bee very cautious of such assistance.

Wee have thought it to bee convenient and necessary to send Lieutenant Collonell Haines to give your Honours an account further of all proceedings here, who will waite upon you dayly to receave your commaunds for this place; and wee entreate you to dispatch him as soon as possible may bee, or otherwise to honour us with something from you by way of command, or what els you shall judge convenient for the well managing your busines in this place. All things att presente are, blessed bee God, in a peaceable and setled condition; and wee question not but by the Allmighty, who hath ever owned us, that it will soe continew. The officers are very vigilent and faithfull, and in this our late commotion have beene exceedingly active. They desire all to have their humble duty and service presented to you. Soe craveing your pardon for our boldnes herein, wee humbly take leave and remayne,

Right Honorable,
Your Honours' ever-obedient Servants,
HEN. LILLINGSTON.
ROG. ALLSOPP.

Because Lieut.-Collonel Haines may peradventure have busines in England, wee have therefore sent Captain Guy with him to receave your imediate commands, who will bee very carefull to returne hether with speed.

[Endorsed] Lettre from Dunkirke.
Read 27 June, 1659.
Date, June 23.

The Commissioners of the Great Seal to Speaker Lenthall

Tanner MS. i. f. 80.

Right Honorable,

In obedience to the resolves of Parliament wee caused pattents to be renewed for the severall Judges of the Courts of Westminster to continue till the twentieth of November next, and caused them to be put under the seal; and meeteing with Mr. Justice Atkins and Mr. Justice Arc[her], with intention to deliver their pattents for Judges of the Common Pleas, wee let them knowe their pattents were ready, and produced them, and withall acquainted them with the acte of Parliament for takeing the oath to be true, faithfull, and constant to this Commonwealth, &c., and also with the order of Parliament impowering and requireing us to administer the same; all which they did scruple to take; and thereupon we thought it our duty to knowe the further pleasure of the Parliament before wee deliver their pattents. We also sent to Mr. Justice Newdigate, Judge of the Upper Bench, who sent his excuse for attending us for the present in regard of some other urgent occasions, but withall signified to us that hee will attend us on Munday next and receave his pattent, and execute the place according to the resolves of Parliament; and Mr. Baron Parker is out of towne and not to retorne till Munday next. Wee also hold it our duty to acquaint the Parliament that Mr. Baron Thorpe, who is one of the Judges of the Northerne Circuite, came voluntarily to us and tooke the oath. And the Lord Chiefe Baron Wyld, one of the Judges of Oxfordshire Circuit, did the like; but none other of the Judges for the Circuits which are members of Parliament have been with us, except Mr. Serjeant Earle, who declines takeing the said oath. Judge Wyndam is at the waters for his health, and retornes not till the next weeke, and then wee presume he will attend us and receave his comission and take the oath. And because we find by the acte that all Judges are prohibited to execute their offices before they take the oath, and there is noe Judge for the Lincolnshire Circuite but Serjeant Earle, and the Judges appointed for the Norffolke Circuite are Justice Atkins and Justice Archer, and there is noe Judge for the Common Pleas, wee held it our duty to acquaint the Parliament h[erewith], least there should be a fayler of justice to the people of this Commonwealth for want of Judges in the Common Pleas and for this present Circuite, which wee apprehend may be of evill consequence,

and make it our humble suite to you to acquaint the Parliament speedily herewith, and to excuse this present addresse from

Your most humble Servants,

THO: TYRRILL, C.S.

The 1st of July, 1659. JO: FOUNTAYNE, C.S.

Captain Jenkins to Speaker Lenthall

Tanner MS. li. f. 102.

Right Honorable,

I receaved certen intilligence yesterday about seaven aclock in the afternoone that there was an insurrection already begun within this county, att Pembridge, within ten myles of this garrison, upon notice whereof (with all possible speede) I sent a party of horse, consisting of about forty men, to discover the trueth therof, whoe retorned intilligence about three aclock this morneing that the enemy were gathering together from severall parts to randivow att Bushope, with in fower myles of this citty, and tooke prissoners three persons goeing towards that place, horsed and armed, being all old Cavileers. Wee are setting our selves in the best posture wee cann, haveing only the county troope besides the garison souldiers. I shall nott bee wanting in my endeavours to attend and frustrate theyr designe, being first to surprize this garrison. If they should grow numerouse a speedy supply of forces will bee needfull, for which I referr my selfe to your Honours. I hope upon the retorne of the whole party I shall bee able to give you a further accompt. Thus desireing your Honour's further instructions and advice in this busines that soe greatly concernes the peace of the nation in the secureing this garison, I remayne and am

Your Honour's most humble and faythfull Servant,

HU: JENKINS.

Castle of Hereford, July 28th, 59.

Mr. Thomas Pury and his Son to Speaker Lenthall

Tanner MS. li. f. 97.

Right Honorable,

Upon our coming to Gloucester, and conference there with Captayne Deale and Captayne Crofts, we found that there were very great dangers threatned to this place by the Cavaliers and others, enemyes to this Commonwealth, whereof we doubt not but that you have from

tyme to tyme received from the sayd Captaynes full advertisements. But now, upon fresh intelligence, understanding that the enemyes are numerous and have resolved to fall upon us as this night, the sayd Captaynes, conceiving themselves not sufficient with their forces (being all horse) to secure this place without the addicion of some foote, have desired our advice and assistance therein, whereupon we have adventured to rayse about 300 foote, compleately armed with musketts (there being noe pikes in this citty), and have putt them the last night upon duty, resolving soe to continue them for about weeke [*sic*] ensuing. We have thought itt our duty to give your Honours this account, and to pray your further orders and direccions therein. The souldyers have shewed themselves very ready and resolute, leaving their trades and occupacions to serve upon this occasion; but they are all poore men, and live only by their hands, and if some provision of pay be not speedily made for their encourage[ment] and subsistance itt will dishearten them from soe free and hearty [an] appearance upon the like dangers for the tyme to come. We have bin enforced already to engage to the enferiour officers and souldiers that they shall forthwith receive a weeke's pay, and we are n[ow] making itt our care to provide the money accordingly, and therefore we earnestly begge that your Honours wilbe pleased to give o[rder] that soe much money may be payd for the uses abovesaid as to your wisedomes shall seeme meete and necessary, the extreame exigency of the busines (according to our best intelligence) enforcing what hath bin done herein for the service of the Commonwealth by

Your most humble and faythfull servants,

THO: PURY.
THO: PURY, junior

Gloucester, 27 July, 1659.

Major Audley to Speaker Lenthall

Tanner MS. li. f. 107.

May it please your Excellencye,

The partye from the Life Guard, the partye commanded by Cornett Clements, together with our countye troope, have binne upon hard dutie all the Lord's day, and att night drew into barnes and shedds adjoyneing to Redd-hill, and kept frequent and diligent scouts all night, and towards day drew out upon the hill, wheare wee continnued untill about 10 of the clocke, but have not found the enemye

answeareable to his boastings, and indeede our expectation raysed in us by the former presages, for, notwithstanding all our diligence, neither all night nor hitherto this day did wee meete with any thing like an enemye. It is supposed the enemye was ripe and readye, but our Saturdaye's night surprisall, and the disappointing the enemye all the Lord's day, prevented their meeteing us then and growing to a randesvouz as upon this day.

Wee intend after one of the clocke to draw into quarters att Ryegate, wheare wee shall continue, unless some extreemites arise elswheare or wee bee commanded otherwise by your Excellencie.

Wee have received noe notice from Major Hubbard, and therefore kepe his Redd hill as quiett our owne. Humbley craveing your Excellencie's further commands, I rest

Your Excellencie's most humble servant,

L. AWDELEY.

August 1, about 10 of the clocke.

I am in some hopes that Captain Elsmoore may bee found either att the Portcullis or White Lyon in Lambeth; but if otherwise, I am not much in default, for, besides accepting of his engagement to offer himselfe to the Councell of State or your Excellencye, I importuned the officer who commanded the partye to have an especiall care of him. I went both wayes to worke, that in case hee should appeare innocent there . . .[1] him and if guiltye . . .

Colonel Thomas Birch to Speaker Lenthall

[Mr.] Speaker,

Tanner MS. li. f. 106.

I could not safely nor sooner give you an account hereof, but being escaped hither with wearied horses, I hope this may waite on you before I can reach London. Sir, I came into the next confines of Lancashire upon Thursday night last, where by a Quaker that followed and called after me I was informed obscurely of greate preparacion of armes, and that Sir George Booth and some other gentlemen of Lancashire and Cheshire, who live next borderinge upon the confines of both counties, were indeavouring an insurreccion. Att home my wife tould me that the same man and some others had beene the day before at my house with the same relacion, expecting to have found

[1] Three-quarters of a line torn off.

me at home. Upon the Fryday I went to Manchester, where I was much more confirmed in the truth of it; and that night I heard of some cart loades of armes carried frowards Manchester to Sir George Boothe's house in Cheshire; whereupon forthwith I sent my man to our countie troope and another troope of the army, that were about 20 miles of, to give them notice, and the better to avoide a surprise, that they would keepe moving and quarter together for theire safetie. Understanding, also, that very many Cheshire gentlemen were in the plott, I sent to Collonel Bradshaw, my Lord Bradshaw's brother, to give notice of it to the sheriffe of that countie and to Collonel Croxton, the Governour of Chester Castle, to looke after the safetie of that citie, and to desire them immediately to give the Parliament and Councell of State to know, for where I was at home, surrounded with them all about me, it was not possible for me to send to you either by lettre or messenger. I sent, further, to our Sheriffe of Lancaster, and to such gentlemen as I best trusted in other parts of the countie, to lett them know it; but all this while it was but intended. Upon the Saturday Sir George Boothe came to Manchester, where mett him Collonel Ireland, Collonel Ashton, Collonel Holland, and diverse other Lancaster men; and then upon the Lord's day all broake out by publicke direccions in parishe churches to call the country into armes, and where Sir George Booth had tenents in either countrie they were the first sent unto to come to his house at Dunham; and then followed the . . . from severall parts, but especially from . . . of Manchester; and upon the Munday they . . . up at a rendezvous, and so marched away. . . . I heard they were putt upon the subscription [of an] engagement, and that declaracions were readie . . . to be read unto them of the grounds of ther [taking] up armes, and themselves give it out they will have a Kinge, a House of Lords and of Commons (meaning Charles Stuart, who some that I discoursed with said expressely was undoubtedly theire lawfull Soveraigne). Sir, I stayed at home the longer, and to the greater hazard then discretion allowed me, that so I might give you the more certaintie of theire proceedings. When I came from home yesterday at two of the clocke I heard they were like to be about . . . or 1,500, but within this weeke they . . . I believe, 3,000 or thereabouts, which will . . . number both of horse and foote when . . . most. They take in all Cavaliers. . . . Some of them give out that Charles [Stuart and] Generall King, but I rather believe

Major Generall Massie, that is amongst [them]. They tell much of the expectacion they [have] of other forces out of Wales and neighbour[ing] counties, but I heare of no stirring anywhere else. I hope you will pardon this sudden, distracted relacion, having scarse time to write it, and so ever remaine,

Sir,

Your most reall and humble Servant,

THO: BIRCHE.

Darbie, this Twesday night, Aug. 2, 1659.

An intercepted Letter from Lord Brereton and Others to Sir George Booth

Gentlemen,

Tanner MS. li. f. 188.

Wee have reseaved your letter, but are much amazed to thinke of youre drawing of soe far as Northwitche, leaveing us heare. What the reall cause maye be wee cannot immagen, but in the meane tyme it still dishartens youre frends, and hath ocationed alredie manie teers in this cittie; and wee heare have soe far considered the business that wee cannot immagen youre returne before you have ingaged, neather can theare anie intelligence pass betwixt you and us, nor can you thinke other but that the enemie will immediatlie clap betwixt you and us, and soe obstruct all passages; and in case you showld reseave anie foyle, your retreating place is lost, and wee are lefte to stand by our sealves. I have by this bearer given you an accompte of the castle; it maye prove well worth youre consideration not to be lefte; and for anie recrutes you expect, they maye as well cum to you to Tarvin, wheare you had binn neare us, as to Northwitche, wheare wee shall not know what becumes of you. Wee cowld have wishte wee had binn made knowne to your intentions sooner, but this suden resulte and motion relisheth not well, and lookes with a verie bad face to all, and to

BRERETON.
J. BOOTH.
H. BROOKE.
PETER BROOKE.

[Addressed] For Sir George Booth, Sir Thomas Midleton, and the rest of the Gentlemen att Ta[rvin], Northwitche, or ealse whear, these. Hast, hast.

[The original is undated.]

Lieutenant Noel Boteler to Colonel Berry

Tanner MS. li. f. 133.

Right Honorable,

It's not unknowne to you that I was commanded to this place with your Honour's troope, and with it to use my indeavour for the preventinge any insurrection in the countie. I was the last night informed of an intended rising; and my intelligence proved true. Severall gentlemen of this countie had appointed a randevouz att or near the hous of Sir Thom. Lenthorpe, to which place I marched the troop, and was their about the time they intended to have mett; but it seems some kinde of alarme made Sir Thom. Lenthorpe leave his house, with the gentlemen that were with him—viz. Sir William Compton, or one of the Comptons, and Esquire Fanshaw. I made a search of the hous, and found in it about forty case of new pistolls, eight kirbines ready laden, with many saddles and bridles for about a troope of hors, all new and such good ones that the like, I beleive, is not to bee found in any troop in the army. I have about 6 prisoners that were staid behinde them, about 12 horse, and all their baggage. I thought it necessary to acquaint your Honor with thus much as soon as I possibly could. If you pleas to signify thus much to the Councell of State and lett mee have the further orders they shal bee readily obeyed by,

Sir,
Your Honor's humble servant,
No: Boteler.

Hartford,
August 19,
'59.

I hope the poor troop shal have all due incouragment by way of priz. I'le assure you they have had a sore march.

Mr. Larke to the Council of State

Tanner MS. li. f. 125.

May it please your Honours,

The proclamation declaring M. Gen. Egerton, &c., rebells and traytours came from the High Sheriff of this county by the constable of this hundred to a petty constable of this towne, who shifted it over to another well-affected constable, who, according to the usuall manner, applyed himself therwith to the Mayor, craving his countenance and assistance in the publication therof, who utterly refused to take any cognisance of it. From thence the said constable

addressed himself to Mr. Georg Heughes and Mr. Porter, to the end that it might be read, according to the resolve of Parliament, in theire respective churches in this towne; but they also utterly refused. Wherupon the said constable applying himself to me, I thought it my concernment to goe with him, together with some others, to the Mayor again, where we prest him with divers arguments to putt countenance upon it, but to no effect, he abiding in his resolutions to have no hand in it; nor could so much as a town sarjant be obtained to read it. However, the said constable, being accompanied by divers well-affected people, in the market time by sound of trumpett proclaimed it, not without being scoffed at by divers merchants and others and raged against by the gentility in generall, the said proclamation fixed up torn down again, and a blank paper sett up in the place therof.

Upon these and other considerations too larg to incert I judg it my duty to offer humbly not only mine, but the sence and desire also of the well-affected, that in order to the preservation of the Lord's and his people's interest in these parts your Honours take speedy and effectuall order to send away or som other where to secure or dispose of the inferiour Spanish prisoners, to the end that the castle where they are kept (it commanding the towne) may be garisoned with such well-affected persons as may be judged compitent to defend themselves, and suppress any attempts of such spirits as waite to take any oppertunity to imbroile this part of the nation in blood and misery, which might be effected with very little charg and great advantage to the publike good if a proposition made last weeke might take effect. This, submitted to your Honours' wisedom as the Lord shall guide you, is all from

Your Honours' humble Servant,

Plymouth Fortt, August 28, 1659. SAM. LARKE.

The good tydings of the routinge Sir Geo. Boothe glads many heer, but most great ones trobled att it.

Admiral Montagu to the Council of State

Right Honorable,

The provisions of the fleete being expended unto one moenth's remainder at whole allowance, by the advise of the Commissioners and Tanner MS. li. f. 127.

the Councell of Warr I am intended to sayle for England, with the next opportunitye of wind and weather, with the whole fleete, except the Langport and Maydston, [which] attend the Commissioners. The account I thought my dutye to give you speedy advertisement of, that if God send us a prosperous passage I might receive your further commands touchinge the disposition of the fleete. The provisions are soe farr expended that I humbly conceive your directions were very necessary as soone as ever wee arrive upon the coast about Southwolds or Alborough Bay, and that some care should be taken for victualls at Harwich in case the fleete should have a longe passage.

For the matter of the treatye in these parts I shall say little, but leave that to the representation of the other Commissioners; only thus much, that I came from Coppenhagen the last night on board this shipp, and ther was noe treatye begunn between the 2 Kinges. The Kinge of Sweden had granted a safe conduct for the Danish Commissioners, and stayed himselfe at the camp to give a speedye dispatch to the affaire, the safe conduct beinge exepted against by the Dane, because therin the Kinge of Sweden stiled himselfe Duke of Schonen. Wee went to the camp, desiringe the Kinge of Sweden to facilitate the treatye by wavinge such ceremonious thinges, and content himselfe to write Kinge of Sweden and Gothland, &c., and that wee would endeavour the Kinge of Denmarke should write King of Denmarke and Norway, &c., not mentioninge any further titles on either side; the which the Kinge of Sweden granted readily, and gave us such a safe conduct to carry to Coppenhagen. Whereupon wee went presently to the Rixhoffmaster, and desired him to presse the Kinge of Denmarke to grant his safe conduct speedily in conformitie to that; but he utterly refused to doe any thinge towards it, and would not thinke of a treatye with the Kinge of Sweden, but said the Kinge of Denmarke should, after the 15 dayes were out, signe the contents of the Hague agrement.

Thus the case stands: the 15 dayes' tyme expires this very eveninge, and the matter in the posture I have told you.

I shall only add that I pray God your Commissioners ther may have a happy guidance in the future stepps they are to take, and that for my selfe I have dischardged my judgement and conscience freely and fully unto them, and serve you therin with as much

integrity as ever any person in the world dischardged a trust. And thus I humbly crave leave to subscribe,

Right Honorable,

Your most humble Servant,

E. MOUNTAGU.

August 28, 1659.
Board of Nassbye,
in the Sound.

Read September 1°, 1659.

Colonel Ashfield to Speaker Lenthall

Right Honorable, Manchester, August 23°, 1659. Tanner MS. li. f. 117.

The state of thinges in this countrie at our first comeing yow have allready received from Colonell Lilborne, whom I met here on Saterday night last; but he not being now here, I thought it my duty to acquainte your Honours with the present posture of affaires here. Since our comeing wee have taken many prisoners, some of quallity. Colonell Holland hath voluntarily submitted himselfe; soe hath Peter Brooke, of Chesshire. Severall other gentlemen of this county I dayly expect, either by their comeing in frely or gathered up by the horse that are quartered at severall places. The countrie likewise begins to take them and bring them in, soe that in a shorte tyme I shall be able to give you a good accountt of all the considerable persons that have bene in this late rebellion. The Ministers are not free, but are now in a quakeing condision. Here is noe conveniences of prisons, which putts us to a greate straite how to secure them; but I think there is noe greate feare of their makeing any escape, they knowing not whither to goe. For any party of them, small or greate together, I heare of none. God, I hope, hath scattered them, that he might establish rightuousness in these nations.

Dureing my stay in this countrey I shall not be wanting to give your Honours an accountt of thinges here; and if yow have any further commandes for me they shall be faithfullie and readily observed. In the meane tyme give me leave to subscribe my selfe

Your Honour's faithfull and ready servant,

RI. ASHFEILD.

The Mayor of Chester to the President of the Council of State

Tanner MS. li. f. 123.

Right Honorable,

Your Lordship's lettre of the 11th instant I received the 22th instant, but the proclamacion therin mencioned was proclaymed before upon the same day by the appointment of the Lord Lambert. The other proclamacions sent by your Lordship were sent to bee read in the churches according to the Parliament's command, the persones in the proclamacion mencioned having made this citty parte of their scene to act their designe upon; and thereupon wee of this citty, having formed two foot companyes, have just cause to feare lest wee should bee lookt upon as ingaged in the designe; and therefore it is very needfull, having this opportunity, to declare the state of our case to your Honour. The truth is, and will soe appeare, that wee were altogether ignorant of the designe in the proclamacion mencioned—were strangers to it—knew not of their approach till upon us. Wee were altogether without defence to oppose them. Our walles, in a great parte downe, had noe force within; and the least resistance would have made us a prey to them. When they were got in they acted the military part as to the carrying on their designe wholly themselves, appointed a Governour of the citty without our consent. Wee were strangers to their councells and resolucions, had noe hand with them. 'Tis true, they being within us, and wee being under their power and naked, and the Castle takeing us to bee one power and opposeing as enemyes, wee thought it very needfull to provide some kind of force for our defence against that violence which wee were in danger in from them both, and therefore formed the two companyes, which wee onely made use of for our owne defence, and never used the same out of the citty, but refus'd to doe soe though required; and that wee never intended the same against the Parliament forces, in ayd of the other forces or otherwise, appeares in that after the rout, when these were earnest with us to have the use of them and to have them augmented for the keeping the citty against the Parliament forces, wee refus'd both, and were resolv'd rather to open the gates to the Parliament forces and submitt to mercy then oppose them, which caused the other forces to leave the citty; and wee knew noe other meanes under God that wee were preserv'd from hurt by them when they left us, and that the citty was open to the Parliament forces when they came, but by the benefit of these two companyes soe raysed

by us; which being fully understood to bee our case, wee doubt not but wee shall bee look't upon by the Parliament as persons that ought rather bee indemnifyed for what wee did then blamed. It is our humble desire that by your Lordship's meanes our condicion may bee favourably represented to the Parliament and Councell; and thereby your Lordship will exceedingly ingage this poore, distressed citty to honour and pray for your everlasting welfare, and more especially,

My Lord,

Your Honour's very humble Servant,

GERARD JONES, Maior.

Chester, August 24, 1659.

Major Blackmore to the Speaker

Tanner MS. li. f. 115.

Right Honorable,

Upon the seven and twentyth instant I received your Honour's of the 23th, and their-enclosed the letter directed to the Justices of Peace and Clerke of the Peace for the countye, touching an account of all innes, tavernes, and alehouses, &c., within this county; and I have prepared letters, with copyes of that to the Justices, to be sent unto the respective devisions of this county, and to morrow morning (the Lord assisting) they shalbe all dispatch'd, that soe, if the Lord give them hearts to sett close unto the worke, there may be that satisfaction given to the Parlyment as is thereby expected; and I shall not fayle punctually to make returne of all such lists as are delivered or sent unto me, or give your Honour an account of those that refuse. Blessed be the Lord, our peace is yett continued; and now the fyre is quenched in the north, there will be noe flame in the west, which otherwise, I feare, all your freinds would not have bin able to have prevented. But God hath done it; and now I hope noe more interruptions will hinder that long-expected settlement which God will yett crowne this Parlyment to be the instruments off to these poore nations, towards which you have the prayers and teares, the heart and hands of,

Right Honorable,

Yours and the Comonwealth's much devoted, faithfull servant,

J. BLACKMORE.

Mount Radford, neer Exon. August 27, 1659.

Admiral Montagu to the Council of State

Tanner MS. li. f. 162.

Right Honorable,

I have little more to write now then I sent by the Adventure fregate, save that I am now under sayle with the whole fleete (the Langport and Maydstone and Hind catch excepted), and am thwart of the Koll, the wind at east-south-east, a gentle gale, bound for Hoselye Bay. I humbly begg your further orders and directions as soone as possibly may be, which shall be faithfully obeyed by mee. This messenger [came][1] to mee yesterday with the Commissioners' pacquett from Coppenha[gen], wherby (I presume) you will understand how the mediation . . .[1] proceedes. Thus I take leave to remain,

Right Honourable,

Your most humble Servant,

Board the Nasebye, August 27, 1659.

E. MOUNTAGU.

Admiral Montagu to the late Protector

For his Highnesse the Lord Richard Cromwell, most humbly, these.

Carte MS. lxxiii. f. 312.

May it please your Highnesse,

It hath much troubled mee to thinke that I should not my selfe be the first messenger unto your Highnesse to acquaint you of my arrivall and the affairs passed in my employment; but the same fate that hath overruled other thinges this yeare governes this also. My attendance here is required, and without leave I may not depart; in which condition, that I may acquitt my selfe soe farr as is possible, I send this to present unto your Highnesse my most humble acknowledgement and thankes for all the noble favors, and to give your Highnesse some account of matters passed with mee.[2] The accomodation betweene the 2 kinges was not in probabilitye of beinge affected this winter (when I came away), and the way of management now is changed from what I had in command at first by certaine late agreements at the Hague with the Dutch. When the victualls of the fleete was spent to a moenth's proportion at whole allowance the consideration of sendinge the whole or a part of it hence became

[1] MS. torn. [2] The passage which follows is full of erasures and corrections.

necessarye; and after much discourse amongst the plenipotentiaries at last wee resolved to send it all hence, 3 of us beinge for it and onely Col: Sydney against it. The Councell have commanded an account of mee of the reasons, and I have given it them. It is large, and not worth the troublinge your Highnesse with here. Two very principall reasons were: the Dutch would send away none of their fleete, wherby, if wee had left 15 shipps behind, it would have beene unsafe and at their mercye; and the other, the absolute necessitye for want of victualls, which could not have beene supplied any way we could devise. My reception here since my arrivall hath beene with respect; but this is a subject more convenient for your Highnesse to receive informacion in from other hands. I shall only add to this boldnesse the most reall assurance possible for me, that whilest I live I shall be found to be,

Sir,
Your Highnesse' most obedient
and most humble servant,
E. M.

Lincoln's Inn Feild,
Sept. 20, 1659.

The late Protector to Admiral Montagu

Carte MS. xxiii. f. 314.

My Lord,

You have expressed a very greate respect to me in your letter, which I received by this your servant; and I should be glad to returne the like to you, being in noe capacitye to doe any thing else. Besides, the times are such now that it is prudence to be cautious even in them. It hath pleased God to change the face of things straingely to what they were when you left England, and it is my feare that many honourable and innocent persons suffers in it. How some particuler persons can answer their consciences I know not. God is a righteous judge, and hath a plaine transcript of things, and will in his due time deale righteously with all men according to the works of their hands and the intentions of their hearts. I can assure your Lordship that I rejoyce at your safe and healthfull arrivall, and shall be moste glad to heare that you are gott over the thresholde of your present troublesome stay in London, the country being the moste proper place for persons that are out of imployment. We [that] are sick desire to change our trads. Oh, that it would please God that poore tossed England might at laste finde a quiet harbour! It is a time for Christians to exercise faith

and prayer; and certainly we have much of extremity to mend God's opportunity. My Lord, you will know past passadges more conveniently then I can give them to you (we are in an adge of mirackles), and therefore I shall only let you know that I am wrapt up in the mantle of deeper affections for the kindenesse of your hearte to me, as you have alwayes sheawed it. Assuring youre Lordship that I desire to be in your kindnesse as in any person's in the world, and that withoute plottings against the powers over us I shall be ready to manifest my selfe

Your Lordship's
most affectionate freind and servant,
R. CROMWELL.

Hursley,
Sept. 25, [16]59.

[Addressed] For my honour'd freind, my
Lord Mountagu, att his Lodgings
in Lincolnes Inn Feild,
These.

Captain Lloyd to Admiral Montagu

Carte MS. lxxiii. f. 319.

My Lord,

Since last I saw you their hath been a very great change in this place. On Wensday last the Parliament took away my Lord Fleetwood's commande, and voted Generall Disbrow [and] my Lord Lambert's commission from them, and som seven more officers' commissiones, and appointed som others for their commands (who would not except of them); and about 6 or 7 aclocke at night the new generalls, vizt. Sir Arthur, Coll. Walton, [and Coll. Morley], issued forth their orders for the Army to drawe to a randivouze about Westminster, and gott powder and ball and match ready in order to an engagement. My Lord Fleetwood, Lambert, Disbrow, heareinge that they had issued forth ther orders, thought time to looke about them, that the Parlement intended not only their commissions, but their very lives, by their drawinge their forces together in that nature. My Lord Fleetwood and the rest issued out their orders and trie what force they could get, and had all the forces except Morleye's and part of Mosse's regiment of foot and 4 troopes of Okey's regiment of horse; and at very high words Morley was with my Lord Lambert and Disbrow, and very nigh unto blowes; but att last the new Generalls submitted unto the ould ones on thursday at night. This day the Councell of Officers meet hear, and

chose my Ld. Fleetwood Lieut.-Generall Commander in Cheife, Lambert Major-Generall, Disbrow Commissary-Generall, and agreed on 7 to be Nominators of Officers, vizt. my Ld. Fleetwood, Lambert, Disbrow, Berry, Ludlow, and Vayne, and 4 to make a corrume and 3 to certifie under their handes to my Ld. Fleetwood such as are approved of for commissiones, which hee is to grant to such; and on the death of any officer the sayd nominators, 3 with 14 feild officers, is to nominate an other, likewise agreed on; and none to be put out of the Army but by a Court Marshall, excepting disbandinge and reducement. . . .

The Parlement would willingly bee admitted to sitt, but I heare not of any inclination in the Army to it. Some of the ould Counsell sittes, but your father, Sir Aurther, hath taken his leave of Whit Hall and removed his lodginges; and very angry they are. Their is very close consultations by some of the Councell. I suppose it is in order to the civell government; but what will be brought forth I knowe not. The old courters beginne to pepe abroade, who hope to finde more favour at the hands of the Army then the Parlement. Wee live in a very unsettled, distracted ayre. The Lord in mercy looke on us, and healpe us to such a settlement as may bee well pleasinge unto the Lord, is the desire of him who am,

My Lord,

Your most affectionate and humble servant,

Oct. 1659. GRIFF: LLOYDE.

My humble service to my Lady.

[Endorsed] Capt. Lloyd, Oct. 18.

Mr. Josiah Berners to Mr. John Hobart

Sir,

Tanner MS. li. f. 161.

Allthough I take no delight to wryte newes when I can neither wryte safely nor any but badd—and indeed the worst of badd, ingratitude, and perfideousenes, and that cloaked with pretence of holines—yet, holding myselfe obliged by civility, &c., to answere your lettre as soone as I could, though not by your honest gentleman post, I send these to acquaint you that Generall Monke is the same as at first. He hath sent upp 3 Commissioners, who were watched like hawkes by Wallingford Howse party till they had agreed to that I suppose you have heard. Collonel Wilkes, one of the 3, who was a

taylor in Blackfryers, and of Mr. Feake's church, betrayed them and their secrett instruccions. But the maine thing, I perceave, aymed att was a cessacion till Monke had setled Scotland and drawne his army on this syde Sterling Bridge, which he hath now done. One article is that Monke shall have his proporcion and arreres of the publique money, which, I beleeve, they cannot spare. The conduct of the army and leavying money for the future are not agreed on. The treaty about the cashiered and suspended officers on both sydes is to be at Newcastle the 6 of December by 10 of each army, and all the officers concerned may be present.

Wallingford Howse say that the Councle of State have mett severall tymes to rayse forces and plott to destroy the godly, forsooth. Fleetwood sent Deane, one of the Clerkes of the Councle, to Sir Art. Haslewrigg to pumpe him, and at last to lett him know if he stayed in London he must secure him; whereuppon he is departed. They cannot make upp an old Councle at Whytehall, and their Comittee of Unsafety is not much regarded nor very active, for Sir H. Vane, Sallawey, &c., have been very busye about a new refyned governement, and I heare they cannot agree, and so Sir Henry Vane is going to Raby to be neerer his frend Lambert, of whome and whose party Wallingford Howse is mistrustfull. I heare some of both armies, though farr asunder, run to each other, and that the scowtes of both sydes lately mett, and, instead of fighting, shott their pistolls on the grownd and frendly discoursed and parted. Indeed, the soldyers generally say they will not fight, but will make a ring for their officers to fight in. I heare Wallingford Howse begins to be weary, and desyres to treat with some Parliament Members. Sir Arthur Haselwrigg sayes he wilbe trepanned no more. Those of the Comittee of Unsafety that sett are Fleetwood, Desborough, Bury, Huson, Holland, Tichborne, Whitlock, Warreston, Sidenham, and sometymes Ireton. The Judges on the 20th of November adjorned to xv^{a} Hillary. Whitlock setts now and then in Chancery, and decimating Butler is imposed on him for a secretary or spye. It's sayd Lechmere is to be attorney. St. John lyes close and meddles not. Collonel Bennett, though I heare he sate but once at the Comittee of Unsafety, yet he went of their errand, and mett the 3 Commissioners at Waltham Crosse, and feasted and brought them to Wallingford Howse in a coach. Monke writt a lettre to the Comon Councle of London, which

is printed and true, and was delivered them by honest Collonel Markham and Mr. Atkin, a merchant that trades hence to Leith, both imprysoned, therefore, by the Comittee of Unsafety. The citty thereuppon hath appoynted a fast on Fryday next in London. Collonel Lidcott is gott safe to Monke, and I hope ere long you will heare more. Last weeke two soldyers, one in Lumberstreete, the other in Chancery Lane, were allmost killed for assisting to leavy taxes, though layd by Parliament. I heare many in severall counties associate against taxes if not appoynted by Parliament. I heare Mr. Nevle, Mr. Scott, Berners, Harrington, Samuell, &c., are left out of the new Comittee of the Militia for Westminster, &c., because they utterly disowned the Comittee of Unsafetie's lettre and order, and voted that they, being appoynted by Parliament, according to their trust they ought not nor would obey any orders from or give accompt unto any but the Parliament or their Councle of State, &c.

It's strange to see these seraphiclists can act without law, against Parliaments and against morality, as if God had not as much comanded the duties of the second table to be kept as the first. Surely they hope for another John of Leyden to be sett upp againe, though not so good as their late Oliver, and, like Knipperdolen, to be lifted uppe by and under him. But the people's eyes are opened, and I am perswaded when new taxes come to be leavyed they will fynde the dagger and one and all to strong and to many for the sword and army.

Yours.[1]

November 29, 1659.

[1] The letter is addressed:

'For John Hobart, Esq., att
his howse in Norwich,'

but is unsigned.

APPENDIX D

The Case of Sir Arthur Hesilrige

[The following letter from Monck to the Speaker of the House of Commons supplements the two letters printed on pp. 260, 268, and explains how it was that Hesilrige succeeded in saving his life and estates when so many of his political friends were less fortunate. The original of this letter is in the possession of R. Bankes, Esq., of Kingston Lacy, Dorset. It is briefly calendared in the eighth report of the Historical MSS. Commission (pt. i., p. 212). The letter was copied some years ago by Mr. S. R. Gardiner, and is now printed from his copy.]

The Duke of Albemarle to Sir Edward Turner

Most honored S^{r},

After I had admitted the secluded members of the longe Parliament to sitt wth the others, in order to the callinge of the last Parliament, I found my selfe involved in many and great difficultyes, because they that satt before them had modelled the Army in England to their owne principles of a Commonwealthe's Governm^{t}. And although I had devided the quarters of the troopes into very distinct stations, yet their correspondence was such that I was very much distracted in my endeavours for the peace and settlement of the nation, and putt to severall and distraict postures in the managinge of them. I was forced to youse the force of power to some, and freindshipp and faire promises of security to others, till att last I had reduced matters to such a consistancy that all were removed from commaund and trust in armes that would not ingage to acquiesce in whatsoever the then succeedinge Parliament should act. Att this conjuncture of tyme noe man was soe capable to obstruct my designes as Sr Arthur Hesilrige, whoe had in his immediate commaund the government of Berwicke, Carlisle, Newcastle, and Tynmouth, wth a regiment of foote and one of the best regiments of horse in the Army,

and had an influence upon all the rest of the regiments in England, hee haveinge had the cheife hand in modellinge the regiments before my comeinge into England. Hee was very jealous of the intended revolucion of governm^t^ to his Maties advantage, and came to me to discover his apprehensions, urginge that hee perceived all tended to the restitucion of the Kinge, and that there would thereby ensue a ruine to his person, family, and fortune; to wch I tould him that if hee would engage to me to goe home to his owne house and lyve quietly there, I would undertake to secure his life and estate; whereupon hee did soe engage; and shortly after, upon Collonel Lambert's defeccion, when there was soe great a disposicion to mutiny in the army, and his conjunction wth him might have hazarded the hope of all, hee declyned all manner of action, and adheared to his engagement made to mee, and upon my letter to him freely delivered up his garrisons to my Lord of Carlisle and his regiment of horse to my Lord Faulconbridge. I confesse the commaund I had that tyme of the army and strength of the kingdome was but a possessory and noe legall power, and what I did must bee submitted to his Maties gracious clemency and favour to me. My unwillingnesse to hazard his Maties restitution by engaginge in blood induced me to venter further in my use of itt then perhaps some may thinke well of. But I knew in matters of soe great importance second councell would bee too late, and therefore I chose to leave as little as I could to the uncertainty of event. Att the request of Sr Arthur Hesilrige's friends I am desired to give you the diversion of this narrative, wch I thinke not meet to send to you in your publique capacity to bee communicated to the House, but as a private person, that from hence you may bee informed of what passed betwixt my selfe and that unfortunate man, which I leave to you to make use of as you in yor judgm^t^ shall thinke fitt, and am

Your most affectionate friend and servant,

Cockpitt, 4° Julii, 16

ALBEMARLE.

APPENDIX E

Letter from Mr. G. Paul to King Charles II.

[This letter, which is amongst the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library (MS. A. 477, f. 34), throws some light on the secret history of Sir George Booth's rising and on the nature of the services performed by Sir Samuel Morland to the King's cause during 1659. It also supplies some new information as to the treachery of Sir Richard Willis, and the manner in which it was discovered.]

To the King

Sir,

Your Majestie this day hath raised mee from death to life, a miracle none but your selfe could have done, in pleaseing soe gratiously to lett mee know with what weapons my enemyes have soe long fought against mee, assureing my selfe I shall with as great ease as telling truth overcome them. These heads, Sir, I shall when ever commanded prove to Sir Samuell's face, and then doubt not but that your Majestie will doe mee justice, protesting before God Almighty neither hopes of recompence nor (the greatest pleasure in the world) revenge hath caused my penn to be partiall in any one thing I here give under my hand.

First I shall shew I had designe for your Majestie's service in my first desireing to be acquaynted with Sir Samuell Morland.

2ly. How, haveing his acquaintance, I spared nothing that might bring it to an intimacy with the Gentleman, thereby to facilitat the gayneing of him to your Majestie's service, which I att last did.

3ly. What expence, both of tyme and money, ere I could get him about, and what trickes and strattagemes I used ere I could fix him, and how I did fix him, and what offers I was forced att last gaspe to make him in your Majestie's name.

4ly. What dainger I runn before and after I gayned him; how

I, rather like the master then the man, turned away all his servants, put in new ones of my owne, ere I could rifle his study as I did.

5thly. How it was I discovered Barrett to be Sir Richard Willis; how it was I ran the dainger of poasting him, which I did with my owne hands, unknowne to him till it was done.

6thly. I gayned Sir Thomas Whetston (Cromwell's nephew) unknowne to him, and sent him to you att Bruxells, designing him for to goe to the Sound to tempt Mountague, for which I have a letter under your owne hands of thankes, telling mee your Majestie had performed all I promised Whetstones in your name, and had followed my advice in sending him to Mountague; all this unknowne to Morland.

7ly. How Morland had moneys of mee, not I of him ever in my life a farthing token, which my servants that payd him money I lent him are ready to witnes.

8thly. I shall shew that his noble Lady aided and assisted to gayne him to your Majestie's partie, about which I shall tell your Majestie what passed in a garden by the neats' howse betwixt him, his Lady, and my selfe, and how shee often hindred him from backsliding, for which I presented her with a cabinett of 50*li.*—sheweth I wanted not moneys—which I bought att Antwerpe att my returne from the King.

9ly. Hee was soe farr from being my master and sending mee to your Majestie with what my owne industry made mee master of, that after I had gayned him—I say, three dayes after hee had promised to send you all hee had—hee repented, and tould mee hee runne a great dainger, and would not act for you, nor send your Majestie any thing untill you should send him tenn thousand pounds in moneye. His Lady with her witt beate him off of that gimcrack, or all had been marred.

Lastly. To shew your Majestie, further, I not only gayned, but governed him, his worship, on Dick's goeing downe and Bradshawe's commeing up in play, resolved to quitt all, packed upp all his goods, sent them to be shipped by Dorislawes for feare. There I used my last witt, threatned him I would render him suspect if hee resolved not to stay, advised him to quitt Thurlo and goe to the Dog Bradshaw and offer him his service, which, *nolens volens*, hee did, became his secretary for examinacions att Wallingford Howse; there hee rendred your

Majestie the greatest service in shufling papers of examinacions and advertising mee of their names which was discovered; desired mee to goe on all daingerous messages as advertisly, and so save them by it. My Lord and Lady Moulent, alive to witnesse it, Sir Edward Massy, Lady Mary Howard, had shee made good use of my advertisment, *cum multis alijs*.

All this, Sir, being made out, I hope I shall no more be accused of pretending to greater services then I have done. I tooke no money of Morland, but furnished both him and Henshaw and Whetstones. I never begged any thing from your Majestie till your arrivall in England. I have waited 3 yeares for somewhat, what you please. I, leiw [*sic*] of all your Royall promises, only begge one design'd for goverment of Garnesey in tyme past may not att present be commanded to put off cloake, lay by sword and hatt, to keepe a doore. This is all hee beggeth who is,

Sir,

Your Majestie's loyall subject and most faithfull servant,[1]

Sir, permitt me to add nothing was Sir Samuell's owne; but the inventing the carecter I gave your Majestie att Bruxells to write to mee by the invisible inke was myne, and every thing else of my laying, conducting, and carrying on from the first to the last.

Monday night, 13th, 1663.

[Endorsed] Lambeth, '63. Mr. G. Paul.
That he gain'd Sir S. Morland to
the service of his Majesty.

[1] There is no signature.

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Spottiswoode & Co. Ltd., Printers, New-street Square, London.

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